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VOL. LXXIV

PART II



30 JUNE 1944

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Fig. 1. ST. MULLINS. TO B. KENNY, ob. 1789. (p. 66).

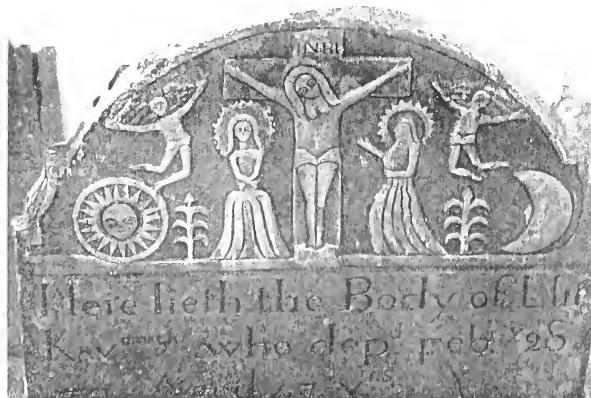


Fig. 2. ST. MULLINS. TO E. KAVANAUGH, ob. 1794. (p. 68).

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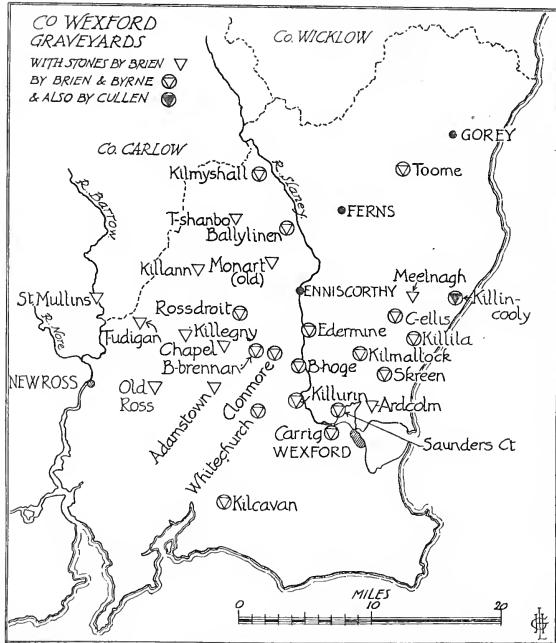
SOME 18TH CENTURY IRISH TOMB-STONES—(Contd.).

By ADA K. LONGFIELD (Mrs. H. G. Leask), *Member.*

H. MILES BRIEN.

In a previous article printed in the *Journal* for June, 1943, (Vol. LXXIII, part 2, pp. 29-39) some attempt was made to deal with certain features of this type of stone-cutting in general, and with the work of Dennis Cullen of Monaseed in particular. It is now proposed similarly to examine some of the productions associated with the name of Miles Brien.

Since Miles Brien never adds any kind of address to his very various forms of signature—Miles Brien, Miles O'Brien, M. Brien, and M.B.—there is no clue to any particular locality, such as was provided by Dennis Cullen with his references to Monaseed. Moreover, as Brien's work is to be found in a great number of the older graveyards of central and northern Wexford, especially within the area from Templeludigan, St. Mullins on the Carlow border, and Kilmashall near Newtownbarry, across to Toome and Castle Ellis, there is room for several possible alternatives. Certain factors, however, help to indicate the region of his probable base, even if no one place can be named with absolute exactitude. Thus there is the emphatic testimony of modern stone-cutters in the town of Wexford pointing out, that as there are no good quarries in the south, "in olden times" the stone-cutters invariably came from



EIGHTEENTH CENTURY IRISH TOMBSTONES.

(Based on the Ordnance Survey, by permission of the Minister for Finance of Ireland).

the northern parts of the country, where the opportunities existed for them to learn and practice their trade. And though good quality stone might be sent considerable distances, and stone-cutters might travel round at intervals executing orders on poorer local material, the natural tendency was to do as much work as possible near their original centre. It so happens that Brien seems to have enjoyed a virtual monopoly in parts of north-western Co. Wexford and the Carlow border—to judge from his work at St. Mullins, Temple-Judigan, Killann, Templeshawbo and Killegney, whilst the presence of eight signed examples at Adamstown alone, would seem to indicate that he had a working base somewhere in that region, and not too far from the quarries of the Newtownbarry area.

It is fortunate that Brien left so many signatures at Adamstown, for they are invaluable in helping to establish the identity of unsigned designs elsewhere. And this is all the more useful because much of his work is less varied than Cullen's, where, incidentally, there is hardly ever any absolute repetition. Indeed some of Brien's more often repeated patterns are only saved from monotony by their fine execution, and the graceful balance of motives which in some respects gives more pleasing results than those achieved by Cullen. But as the obituary notices—so far as they can be roughly relied upon to provide an approximate guide to the time of the actual erection of each memorial—date mostly between 1785-1805, it may be presumed that Brien flourished a little later than Cullen, and coming on to a period when formal repetition, rather than ingenious variation, was more in demand. Thus, apart from the occasional much simplified versions of certain patterns which were probably mainly a matter of price, his designs can be classified into two groups. In the first group, which is comparatively small and almost certainly earlier in date, the schemes are asymmetric, and though his interpretation of the Crucifixion scene is quite individual, there are signs either of Cullen's influence, or of the same kind of medieval and as yet unascertained, but possibly foreign, sources that inspired Cullen. In the numerically larger or later group, the schemes are purely formal and more like J. Byrne's, some or all of the motives appearing in replica about one central crucifix.

One of the most representative of the elaborate designs in the first group occurs at Adamstown, on the stone to Luke Bourke who died in 1790 (Plate V, fig. 3). It is clearly marked "Miles Brien" and has the three crucifixes, those of the two thieves as usual being smaller, and in attempted perspective. In the central foreground there is the kneeling Virgin of the Rosary and a

cone-shaped tree—the Eastern tree of life—whilst the centurion on horseback, a soldier, the lance and spongebearer, and a domed church fill the remaining side spaces. All, save the tree and the church, bear a resemblance to Cullen's work (*cf.* previous article and Plate VI, fig. 7), but the execution of the figures, and especially of the soldier's 18th century costume lacks his finish. Nevertheless the general effect is forceful and imaginative, and its popularity is proved by several unsigned versions—that differ but slightly in the choice and position of motives—on the memorials to Judith Farel, c. 1788 and to Hugh Monaughan, c. 1789 at Kilmashall, to Francis and Patrick Ryan c. 1791 at Killurin, as well as a much battered stone initialled "M.B." to Margaret Murphy, c. 1790 at Killegney.

So much reverence attaches to St. Mullins and it is so near the western borders of Co. Wexford, that it is not surprising to find many of Brien's informal, and probably expensive types there. Few of these happen to be signed, but comparison with marked specimens elsewhere has made satisfactory identification possible. Thus the finely executed stone commemorating Bridget Kenny alias Lawlor, who died in 1789 (Plate IV, fig. 1), is only marked with an "M" in the foliage border beneath the domed church, but it is likely that a "B" has become obliterated in the breaks at the other side. In any case the style bears sufficient affinity to the fully-signed Bourke pattern at Adamstown, to remove all doubt. Two of the figures, however, deserve special notice. For instance, the winged harpist, somewhat uncomfortably seated on the ground, is more amusingly depicted than Cullen's sedater counterparts—yet both play the same kind of small Irish harp. Then there is the angular figure under one crucifix, perhaps meant for St. John, where Brien boldly attempts to depict a facing position, whereas, except for the crucifixes, Cullen always kept to the more easily depicted profiles. Again at St. Mullins there is the unsigned, but obviously elaborated version of the Bourke scheme, on the stone which marks the grave of Martin Kavanagh who died in 1786 (Plate V, fig. 6). Here, apparently no expense was spared, for the number of attendant figures is unusually large, and the indication of a crowd in the foreground unusually ambitious, the Virgin of the Rosary and the angular St. John of the last pattern being supplemented by two unique suppliant figures—the one kneeling, the other prostrate. Yet another unsigned design at St. Mullins (Plate V, fig. 5), that to Michael Ryan, c. 1788, whilst exhibiting most of the characteristics of the Bourke and Kavanagh examples, achieves variety by the prominent place given in the pattern to the letters I.H.S., and by the representation of a facing angelic figure to support the lance and spongebearer.



Fig. 3. ADAMSTOWN. To L. BOURKE, ob. 1790. (p. 65).



Fig. 4. CLONEGAL. To H. CARTY, ob. 1794. (p. 68).



Fig. 5. ST. MULLINS. To M. RYAN, ob. 1788. (p. 66).



Fig. 6. ST. MULLINS. To M. KAVANAUGH, ob. 1786. (p. 66).

Most of the specimens so far mentioned are in reasonably good condition, but there are also a number of battered or broken remnants of what were possibly once nearly as elaborate stones. For instance, the half-buried slab to Bryan Fougarty, c. 1788, at St. Mullins, just shows traces of two out of the three crucifixes, centurion on horse, lance and spongebearer and domed church with the name "M. O'Brien" faintly discernible across the doorway of the church. Then there are two still more battered fragments at Templeludigan, one unsigned, the other showing little save the signature "Miles O'Brien" and the obituary date of 1787.

All three crucifixes are by no means, however, a constant feature of Brien's asymmetric designs and there are several instances of simpler, and probably cheaper patterns, with only the one central crucifix and a few attendant figures. The unsigned stone, again at St. Mullins, to Daniel O'Neal, who died in 1789, is typical of one of these (Plate VI, fig. 9). Whilst the scheme of decoration is obviously related to that used on the Bourke stone, it rather gains in style from the absence of any attempt at a foreground, as well as from the more uncommon representation of the standing Virgin figure with sharply-defined cape and halo. Moreover, somewhat similar themes of much the same date are to be seen in other places, notably one of c. 1791 at Chapel, which is marked "M.B." and one of c. 1788, unsigned, in the neighbouring Ballybrennan graveyard. Another variant of this simpler informal type again occurs at St. Mullins, on the memorial to Nicholas Murphy, c. 1789, where the caped figure is replaced by one with a poorly-executed panniered skirt—perhaps an early effort at the gracefully draped facing Virgins to be noted later. Unfortunately many of even these less ornate stones have also suffered badly from the effects of time and weather. Thus on that to John Murphy of c. 1788, at Old Monart, near Enniscorthy, little can now be discerned save the legend "Miles O'Brien" in cursive lettering and a cone-shaped tree on each side of the Cross. This same kind of tree, accompanied by a highly conventionalised palm is again amongst the few distinguishable features on two similarly battered and unsigned examples at St. Mullins and Templeludigan of c. 1781 and 1793, respectively.

Incidentally it may be noted that nearly all Brien's informal designs occur within the St. Mullins-Templeludigan-Templeshanbo-Kilmyshall-Adamstown area, where he worked alone. It is true that some of his formal patterns are found there too, but it is further to the south-east, where his stones and Byrne's are so numerous, and so often appear in the same graveyards, that practically only the latter type appears. If this fact, and the earlier

obituary dates (c. 1785-1793) have any significance at all, then they afford additional reasons for supposing that his original working centre lay somewhere about Adamstown. The absence of any local tradition connected with his name is certainly unfortunate, but the changing character of his work would seem to indicate that in his later years he went further afield, came in contact with Byrne's ideas, and developed more easily executed styles that suited the demands of the time and his, apparently, increasing orders.

Certainly all Brien's formal patterns have a marked resemblance not only to some of the Byrne type (Plate V, fig. 4), but to each other. In all there is the one mediievally-shaped broad crucifix, showing Christ with inclined head, wig and perizonium, whilst surrounding figures and motives, such as robed personages, flying angels, cherub's heads, palm and cone-shaped trees, sinuous foliage sprays or stiff flowering trees, chalices, the sun and moon, etc., occur in replica again and again. Complete monotony is avoided by skilful permutations and combinations in the distribution of these, but there are naturally many exact, or nearly exact, repetitions of the, presumably, most popular schemes.

Thus one set of these oft-repeated patterns has for its main attendant motives, two robed and haloed profile figures, flanked by sinuous foliage sprays bearing a dove in each. Two stones thus decorated and commemorating Markes Flood at St. Mullins who died in 1793 (Plate VI, fig. 10), and Mary Ryan at Castle Ellis who died in 1795 are initialled "M.B.", but at Templeshanbo the Redmond memorial of c. 1794 is fully signed "Miles Brien." The same design, but minus the dove, again appears above the full signature on the stone of c. 1792 to Martin Harris at Kilmysshall. Still other signed variations can be seen in several places:—with one figure facing, as on the memorial of c. 1791 to John Stafford at Ballybrennan, near Chapel, or on the stones of c. 1796 and 1797 to Mary and Ann Lacy at Killurin; with doves near, rather than on the foliage spray, as at Templeshanbo (Anastasia Nowlan, c. 1792) or with doves on stiff flowering trees as at Clonmore, near Bree (M. Fitzgerald, c. 1791). At Ardecolm and again at Adamstown the foliage sprays are replaced in the one case by doves only, in the other by flying angels, whilst at Old Ross, Killann, Saunders-court, etc., there are plainer versions without sprays or doves.

In another set of designs—of which the stone at St. Mullins to Elizabeth Kavanagh who died in 1794 is a fairly typical example (Plate IV, fig. 2)—the outstanding feature is the facing figure of the Virgin with arms stiffly crossed (as in previously mentioned facing



Fig. 7. WHALEY ABBEY. To E.
BYRNE, ob. 1788. (p. 66).

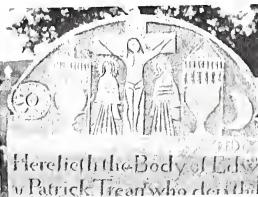


Fig. 8. KILLANN. To E. & P.
TREANOR, ob. 1798. (p. 70).



Fig. 9. ST. MULLINS. To D. O'NEAL, ob. 1789. (p. 67).

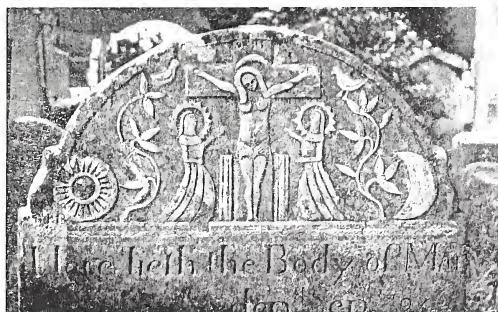


Fig. 10. ST. MULLINS. To M. FLOOD, ob. 1793. (p. 68).

figures), and wearing a wig and charmingly executed panniered dress of the period. Although this particularly well-preserved specimen is unsigned, its attribution is amply corroborated by many rather similar, if occasionally damaged, versions elsewhere. Thus there are fully signed variants—at Adamstown, on the stone to Mogue Redmond, c. 1788 ; at Rossdroit, to Nicholas Kennedy, c. 1792 ; at Toome, to Ann Shanahan, c. 1794 ; at Whitechurch, to Daniel Kavanagh, c. 1794 and at Castle Ellis, to Michael Byrne, c. 1796. Again at Ballylinen, near Ballycarney, there is a fine example of c. 1793 to the memory of Bridget Byrne *alias* Ryan, with stiff flowering trees and the initials "M.B." whilst at Whitechurch, a still better specimen with the same obituary date, and erected to R. Foley, shows cocks in the trees and the signature "M. Brien" (Plate VIII, fig. 13). More unsigned variants of similar dates can also be seen on poorer quality materials at Killegney, Killila, near Blackwater and Kilmallock, near Oilgate.

But these are not the only instances exhibiting—what may for convenience be called—the panniered dress theme. There are some closely allied patterns that depict *two* facing figures so clothed, one on each side of the cross, and with arms upraised, instead of crossed. Though numerically small, this minor group is of rather exceptional interest and consists of two stones at Whitechurch, near Wilkinstown Cross Roads, and one much further south at Old Kilcavan, in Bargy. On that at Old Kilcavan to Peter Fardy, c. 1797, which is signed "M. Brien," the two panniered figures have the usual profile figures in attendance, but these latter are quite clearly shown to have *wings* in addition to their normal robes. They appear again on the design initialled "M.B." that commemorates M. Hanlon, also c. 1797, at Whitechurch (Plate VII, fig. 12), though on the second stone of this kind there (to—Doolan *alias* Whitty c. 1791) which is fully signed "Miles Brien," simple chalices are the only accompaniment to the panniered figures. Nevertheless the fact that two of these stones date from about 1797—several years later than most of the single panniered figure themes—would seem to indicate that they represent a later development in style.

Still more numerous, though less varied in accompanying detail, are the patterns with two *facing* haloed figures garbed in distinctive *peaked cloaks*, that are possibly reminiscences of the old Irish mantle. Anyway these figures are always placed standing beside the cross and are often attended by the two profile and plainly-robed figures of previous designs—but without the haloes. In the exceptionally good, though unsigned example of c. 1801 to

Judith Keaten at Adamstown, these latter carry large five and six-petalled sun-flowers (Plate VIII, fig. 14). But this is not so on the otherwise almost similar stones of c. 1801 to Robert Bealey, and c. 1802 to David Murphy at St. Mullins, or on those at Templeludigan and Rossdroit (signed) and that at Killann (unsigned). As the haloed figures presumably represent the Virgin and the Magdalene (rather than St. John), then the plainer figures in these decorations are probably without any particular significance. Occasionally, indeed, they appear, as in a previous pattern, with the addition of wings—notable on the fully-signed stone to John Hiers, c. 1797 at Old Kilcavan and on an initialled stone at Ballyhoge, as well as on two unsigned ones at Carrig near Wexford, and Whitechurch. In almost innumerable instances, however, they are replaced by elaborate chalices, such as are depicted at Adamstown on the unsigned stone to Edward and Patrick Treanor, who died in 1798 (Plate VI, fig. 8). Nor is there any lack of signed versions of this very popular pattern, for instance—at Killann, on the stone to Bryan Flood, c. 1800; at Edermine, to Father Allick Roche, c. 1801; at Killinecooly, to Margaret Carey, c. 1805, etc., whilst other unsigned variants of similar dates can be seen at Templeludigan, Ballybrennan, Kilmynshall, Rossdroit, Skreen, etc.

The formal patterns noted so far all fall into fairly well-defined groups, but there are, of course, other variations besides those just described. Thus sometimes there are quite plainly-robed facing figures beside the cross, as on stones of c. 1803 and 1804 at Saunderscourt and Kilmallock; sometimes the profile figures are very definitely kneeling rather than standing, as on examples of c. 1789 and 1791 at Templeshawbo and Clonmore; sometimes lichen and weathering make it hard to distinguish wings from arms or figures from foliage—as on some once fine stones of c. 1795 and 1798 at Templeshawbo and Templeludigan. But in any case these minor variations, often executed in poor material, are of comparatively little importance. More interest attaches to a few better preserved examples of unusual types that surely represent very special orders. For instance, there is a finely-cut formal pattern at St. Mullins which shows a serpent beneath the cross, and supporting two small trees, whilst the familiar profile figures are flanked by two elaborate edifices—presumably symbolic of the tomb and of the temple of the heavenly Jerusalem (Plate VIII, fig. 15). There are no obituary details beyond the inscription “Erected by Robert Bealey in Remembrance of his children,” but happily the signature “Miles Brin” appears at one side, for the buildings are unusual, and though J. Byrne frequently depicts the crucifix triumphing

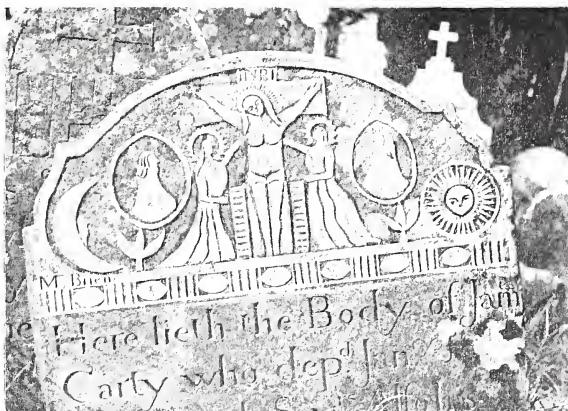


Fig. 11. WHITECHURCH. To J. CARTY, ob. 1796. (p. 71).



Fig. 12. WHITECHURCH. To M. HANLON, ob. 1797. (p. 69).

over the serpent of evil, Brien seems to have preferred the convention of blocks or pedestal. Still, there is at least one other uncommon and fully-signed stone—that at Adamstown to Simon Roach, who died in 1776—that shows a serpent and similarly gabled temple in addition to robed figures and an angular facing figure. Nevertheless, neither of the last-mentioned patterns is quite so curious as that to be seen at Whitechurch, on the memorial erected c. 1796 to James Carty and his wife (Plate VII., fig. 11). It bears the signature "M. Brien" and whilst the crucifix, side figures, etc., are in his normal style, there are unique additions consisting of foliage ornaments supporting medallions containing profile busts. Perhaps these are meant as portraits of the deceased; certainly they are entirely in keeping with the period, but amazingly sophisticated and ostensibly out of place in the accompanying folk-art presentation of the Crucifixion scene.

When sufficient allowance has been made for differences in material and degrees of weathering, the execution of practically all the examples mentioned so far is sufficiently similar to be regarded as representing the work of one man—who may for convenience be called the *first Miles Brien*. But that, like Cullen, he had imitators as well as possibly legitimate successors, is obvious from several other inferior stones, both signed and unsigned, and of similar as well as dissimilar styles. Thus there are some doubtful instances of poorly cut formal patterns with later obituary dates, that have not yet been referred to, and that are to be found at Killurin, Edermine and other places. Of something like the informal types there are yet cruder versions. For example, that at Ballybrennan, near Chapel, with almost unbelievably rudely cut crucifix, palm trees, soldier and lance and spongebearer—which commemorates a certain "Catherine Larkin" who died in 1787, and is signed "Miles Brian." Moreover, additional evidence of this other "Brian" or "Brien" is afforded by a number of stones so marked at Meelagh, Killurin, Skreen, etc., and all very roughly decorated with rayed circles and two figures or the sun and moon. Again there are patterns—often also signed as above—that fall into a slightly different category, for they show some attempt at originating a new style. On these there is usually a crucifix and two attendant figures enclosed in architectural surrounds and embellished with foliage sprays and scrolls. The main part of the decoration, however, is set fairly low down on the stones and is, as a rule, engraved rather than cut. Since the obituary dates are often as late as 1815 (the memorial to Arthur Kavanagh at Templeshanbo) and 1822 (St. Mullins), etc., this style may represent

either maturer efforts of the second Miles Brien or work of yet a third stone-cutter of that name.

There is little of individual interest in any of the productions referred to in the last paragraph, but they have been mentioned mainly because they seem to form a link between the real folk-art products of the first Miles Brien, Cullen, Byrne, etc., and the monotonous, commercial output of later times. Again, as in the previous article on Dennis Cullen, this account does not pretend to include all the places where Miles Brien's work *may still* be found. Obviously it cannot include the places where time and neglect have combined to obliterate all evidence of his productions, for only some supposition such as this can explain the complete absence of his patterns in the Newbawn, Horetown, Taghmon areas and their sudden recurrence as far south as Old Kilcavan in Ballybogha. From the numerous places visited, and from the great quantity of specimens examined, however, it may be claimed that this account at least provides an adequate outline of the distribution and characteristics of Miles Brien's work.

Finally, I am indebted to my husband for all the photographs, and for the production of the map; to Miss Phyllis Thompson for most of the prints for reproduction; and to the following for help and information:—Mr. H. Armstrong, Mr. M. D. Burke, Mr. Curtis, Brother D. C. Healy, Mr. T. O'Driscoll, Mr. E. R. Richards Orpen, and Mrs. M. Roche.

SUMMARY OF GRAVEYARDS WHERE WORK SIGNED BY MILES BRIEN
HAS BEEN FOUND.

A. *Places containing the more important examples in good condition :*

Adamstown, Ardecolm (one only), Ballylinen (one only),
Castle Ellis, Killann, Killurin, Kilmashall, Saunders-
court, St. Mullins, Whitechurche (near Wilkinstown Cross
Roads).

B. *Places with examples in poor condition :*

Ballybrennan (near Bree), Ballyhoghe (one only), Carrig
(near Wexford, one only), Chapel, Clonmore (near Bree),
Edermine, Killegney, Killila (near Blackwater), Killin-
cooly, Kilmallock (near Oilgate), Mcelnagh (one only),
Old Kilcavan in Ballybogha, Old Monart (one only), Old
Ross, Rosddroit, Skreen, Templeludigan, Templeshanbo,
Toome.

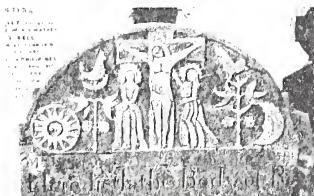


Fig. 13. WHITECHURCH. To R. FOLEY, ob. 1793. (p. 69).



Fig. 14. ADAMSTOWN. To J. KEATEN, ob. 1801. (p. 70).



Fig. 15. ST. MULLINS. To R. BEALEY'S CHILDREN, no date. (p. 70).

"LE COMTE DE BARNAVAL": A SIDELIGHT ON
BARNEWALL FAMILY HISTORY.

By H. H. LANGRISHE.

THE discoveries here related resulted from an investigation of the contradictory eighteenth century references found in Bord's History of Freemasonry in France, and elsewhere, to "le Comte de Barnaval" of Toulouse, who was said to have hailed from Ireland.

Of the Barnewall families of the period, three bore Irish titles: the Barnewalls, baronets of Crickstown: John Barnewall, 11th Baron Trimlestown (under attaingement); and Nicholas Barnewall, 3rd Viscount Kingsland, of Turvey.

John Barnewall, whose title of Baron Trimlestown was under attaingement at the time, married in 1703 Mary, a granddaughter of Sir Patrick Barnewall, 1st Baronet, of Crickstown; there were six sons of the marriage, but we are only concerned here with the second, John, and the third, Richard. The title of Viscount Kingsland is now extinct (see Lodge's Peerage of Ireland, vol. i, and for the story of the last holder, Burke's Vicissitudes of Families, 1883 ed. vol. ii, p. 74).

Amid numerous family papers which have lain impounded in the Court House at Toulouse* by the government for a century and a half the writer found a Deed of Appointment executed by Nicholas, 3rd Viscount, on his deathbed, and it is here reproduced. It has remained in Toulouse since the day when Nicholas Barnewall, who became 14th Baron Trimlestown, fled to Ireland from the French Revolution in 1789.

Deed of Appointment made by Nicholas third Viscount Barnewall of Kingsland in favour of his daughter, Frances.

WHEREAS by a Tripartite DEED bearing date the twenty-first day of July, 1698, and made and then duly executed BETWEEN the Right Honourable Nicholas Lord Viscount Kings-

* Arch. Dép. Haute Garonne, 26, 27, 28, 29.

land and the Right Honourable Mary Viscountess Kingsland, his wife, OF THE FIRST PART, the Right Honourable Richard Lord Viscount Rosse, since deceased, and the Right Honourable Lord Baron Kingston and Christopher Barnewall of Trimblestown in the County of Dublin, esquire, OF THE SECOND PART, and The Right Honourable Henry Lord Viscount Dillon and Matthew Foord of Coolgreny in the County of Wexford, esquire, and Nicholas Barnewall of Woodpark in the County of Meath, esquire, OF THE THIRD PART. It is thereby provided that in case the said Nicholas Lord Viscount Kingsland shall at the time of his death have issue by the said Mary Viscountess Kingsland, his wife, several sons and one or more daughters, that then and in such case the said Lord Viscount Dillon and Matthew Foord their executors, administrators and assigns should, out of the term vested in them in and by the said deed, LEVY and raise out of the rents and profits of the several Manor-lands, tenements and premises in the said Deed mentioned for the portions of the daughters of the said Lady Kingsland, such portion or portions, sum or sums of money as the said Lord Viscount Kingsland by instrument in writing under his hand and seal and attested by the said Lord Viscount Dillon, Lord Baron Kingston, Matthew Foord and Lady Kingsland or any two or more of them or by his last Will and testament in writing, attested in like manner, should direct, limit and appoint for the portion and maintenance of such daughters respectively PAYABLE in such manner as by such instrument or Will should be appointed as by the said Tripartite Deed, relation being had, may, amongst other matters and things therein contained, more at large appear AND WHEREAS the said Lord Viscount Kingsland hath now two sons and one daughter by the said Lady Viscountess Kingsland, viz.:—Henry, George and Frances NOW I, the said Nicholas Lord Viscount Kingsland, in pursuance of the said Power reserved to me by the said Deed of Settlement as aforesaid DO hereby direct, limit and appoint the sum of Four thousand pounds for the portion of my aforesaid daughter Frances and the sum of two hundred pounds per annum for her maintenance till she be married Which said sum of four thousand pounds and maintenance I do hereby charge on the several lands, tenements and premises in the said Deed of Settlement mentioned, AND I do hereby appoint the Right Honourable Frances Viscountess Dillon, the widow and executrix of the said Richard Lord Viscount Dillon deceased, and the said Mary Viscountess Kingsland to levy and raise the said portion and maintenance out of all or any part of the said Manor Lands and premises by mortgage, sale or lease, or in such other manner as

they, the said Lady Kingsland and Lady Dillon, or the survivor of them shall judge most proper for the benefit of my said daughter.

(Here follow provision for the periodical payment of the said maintenance, the attestation clause, and date: sixth of June, 1725.)

(Signed) Kingsland.

Witnesses:—M. Kingsland, N. Plunkett, Jon: Warren.

Sealed with the Arms of the Viscount.

The document, which is engrossed lengthwise on parchment, is endorsed as follows:—

Richard Barnewall, Esquire and Frances, his wife, Plaintiffs:

The Right Honourable Henry* Lord Viscount Kingsland by his Guardian William Lord Baron Howth, Mary Lady Viscountess Dowager Kingsland and Frances Viscountess Dowager Dillon, Defendants.

This deed was exhibited to Nicholas Plunkett Esquire at the time of his examination in this cause by Thomas Pilkington.

This deed was exhibited to Mr. Richard (surname illegible) at the time of his examination in this cause by Thomas Pilkington.

Richard Barnewall, who at the age of 16 married Frances, daughter of Viscount Kingsland, was the third son of John 11th Baron Trimlestown. He and his wife were the plaintiffs in the action in which the above Deed of Appointment was produced. His son was Nicholas Barnewall (1726-1809) to whom the title of Trimlestown reverted on the death of his cousin Thomas, 13th Baron. Richard Barnewall and his son lived the greater part of their lives in France, and from the Toulouse documents it is clear that father and son passed as Counts there. Their true position, however, is shown by a Patent of Louis XV, dated March 1768, granting Recognition of Nobility to Richard de Barnewall and Nicholas his son. This Patent was also found among the papers at Toulouse: it runs as follows:

* The defendant Henry Benedict, fourth Viscount, was a godson of Henry Benedict, "Cardinal York," brother of the young Pretender. He was born on first February 1708/9, and Richard Barnewall came of age about 1st January 1729/30, so the suit must have been commenced in the month of January 1730.

EXTRACT MADE AT THE COURT HOUSE, TOULOUSE, ON 30TH APRIL,
1940.

Livres Patentes portant
Naturalité
à Nicholas de Barnewall
et
reconnaissance de noblesse
de nom et d'armes à Richard
et aus ; à Nicholas de Barne-
wall son fils.

(Archives Départementales
Propriété Publique.
427 / 5
Haute Garonne)

LOUIS par la grace de Dieu ROY
de France et de Navarre à tous
present ou à venir SALUT Nôr
chere et bien ame Richard de Barne-
wall Comte de Trimlestown et
Nicholas de Barnewall son fils ainé,
natif d'Irlande, fils et petit fils de
Jean de Barnewall, Lord, Baron de
Trimlestown, Pair du Royāme d'
Irlande nous ont fait exposer que
led' Richard de Barnewal étant
venu après le décès de sa femme
Dame Francoise de Kingsland,
s'établir en France où une grand

partie de sa famille avait passé depuis un siecle, nous lui aurions accordé au mois de Decembre mille sept cent quarante-six nos Lettres de naturalité qui auraient été enregistrées en notre Chambre de Comptoir de Paris le quatorze Novembre suivant et le trente May mil sept cent cinquante deux au Bureau de notre financier de la généralité d'Auch. Qu'ayant appellé en faire venir avec lui en france led' Nicolas de Barnewall son fils, il aurait également besoin de nos Lettres de Naturalité. Ils nous ont en même temps exposé qu'en passant sous notre domination ils ont besoin pour joir des avantages de leur naissance que nous leurs accordions nos Lettres de reconnaissance de leur Noblesse de nom et d'Arme. Ils nous ont représenté que suivant les anciennes Chronicles d'Irland ou de la grande Bretagne un cadet de Bretagne qui passa en Angleterre avec Guillaume le conquérant Duc de Normandie sur l'autau [caume ?] de la maison de Barnewall en Angleterre Que son petit fils suivit Henry second en Irlande où il obtenu de grandes possessions à Byrhaven, maintenant la comté de Cork, et où il épousa la Fille du Prince de ce canton. Quelque temps après son mariage il fut tué dans les guerres qui s'élevaient dans ce pays. Sa veuve qui était enceinte, se fit transporter à Dublin où elle accoucha d'un fils qui épousa une riche heretiere. Il en eut deux fils, l'aîné s'établit à Crickstown et le second à Trimlestown dans le Comté de Meath, portant pour armoires d'hermine à la bordure en grelée de gueule, sommée d'une couronne de Lord, Cimier un Casque de trois quarts accompagné de sc-Lambrequin, sommé de son bourellet

et de cinq panaches d'or de gueule, d'azur, de sinople et d'argent, d'esquelle et issant un faucon naissant, eployé d'argent langué de gueule ; pour supporter un Lion lampassé de gueule et un Griffon langué de gueule ; devise Malo mori quam foedari. Que suivant les dites Chroniques et la carte généalogique armoriée de la famille des Exposants dressée à Dublin le deux Septembre mil sept cent soixante six par Guillaume Kawkins Roy et herault principal d'Armes de toute l'Irlande sous le nom et titre de Elster et par l'autorité d'ecelle, seul officier proposé pour tenir les Registres des Armes et Généalogies de la noblesse et des Gentil-hommes de ce Royaume, et les certifier ou lui même ou par son député, Attesté par les Lords Justices et Gouverneurs générales de Sa Majesté Britannique en son royaume d'Irlande le trente du même mois ainsi que par le Notaire public à Londres le Dr : Abraham Ogiev ; duement scellé et legalisée le huit Novembre de la même année par le Sen Sr' Comte de Guevhy alors notre ambassadeur à la Cour de Londres que Christophe de Barnewall dixieme ayuel de Richard Exposant épousa Matilde Veuve Drake Chevalier dont il eut deux fils nommés Nicolas et Robert, que Robert de Barnewall deuxieme fils de Christophe fut créé Pair d'Irlande le quatre Mars 1481 dans le deuixieme année du regne d'Edouard IV sous le titre de Lord Baron Trimlestoun et qu'il fut allié à Anne fille et héritière Bronne aussi chevalier——

(Here follows a recital of the intermediate generations, as set out in Burke's Peerage :)

—— Richard exposant qui a épousé Francoise de Kingsland fille de Nicolas aussi Pair d'Irland. Que nombre de leur parents sont morts au service de la france entre autres Mathieu de Barnewall Lord Trimlestoun leur oncle paternal frere de Jean de Barnewall en qualité de Lieutenant de la deuxieme Compagnée des Gardes du Corps du Roy Jaques ; Milord Nugent leur autre oncle paternal premier lieutenant de la premiere Comp : des Cardes du Corps du Roy Jaques devenu Col : du Regt : de Nugant nommé depuis FitzJames et mort Marechal de Camp ; Milord Galmoy leur cousin issu de germain ; Thomas de Barnewall leur frere et oncle Col : Brevete dans le Regt : de Berwick tué à la bataille de Lannfold. Pour ces considerations et les bons services que Milord Tyrconnel leur cousin, issu de germain nous a rendu et à l'Etat en qualité de Notre Ambassadeur aupres du Roy de Prusse ils ont tres humblement fait suplier de vouloir bien leur accorder notre Lettre de naturalité et de reconnaissance de leur noblesse de nom et armes——

(Here are recited the certificate of baptism of Richard at St. Paul's, Dublin, on 3rd January, 1708/9, and other documents of verification, and the Grant follows in terms of the prayer ;)

“Richard de Barnewall est le fils puîné de Milord Trimles-town Pair d'Irlande, ainé du nom et des armes de la maison de Barnewall qui est reconnu pour un des plus illustres et des plus anciennes du Royame d'Irlande.”

Donné à Versailles au mois de Mars l'an de Grace mil sept cent soixante-huit, et de notre règne le cinquante troisième.

LOUIS

(Note :—The Arms, crest and motto are engraved and tinctured on the fourth page of the parchment, and a duplicate for Nicholas lies there also).

The legend this gives about Berehaven is mentioned in Lodge's Peerage, but is also there given in a more plausible form (see Burke, Barnewall Baronet). The assertion that a cadet of the house of Brittany crossed to England with William the Conqueror appears to be well founded, for Dom Lobineau, in his *Histoire de Bretagne*, I, p. 98, states that Eudes, Duke of Brittany, sent two sons, Brian and Allan, with their attendants, to join in the invasion, and the name Alanus de Berneval (a village near Dieppe) appears on the Battle Rolls.

The purpose that Richard Barnewall apparently had in view when he petitioned for the Patent of 1768 was the marriage of his son, Nicholas, with the only daughter of Joseph Daguin, President of the Parliament of Toulouse, under whose Will, proved in 1760, she inherited 40,000 livres, for the marriage with Marthe Henriette was solemnised on the 1st November following. They resided at Chateau Lamirolles, near Verdun sur Garonne, and Richard appears to have lived with them. It will be observed that the Patent does not create any title, it merely declared the grantees to be noble, and to have their names recorded in the Golden Book as worthy to be received at Court, and to associate with the nobles whose arrogance brought about the Revolution. Nevertheless, Nicholas and Marthe were addressed as le Comte and la Comtesse and Richard as Comte or Marquis.

Richard also had a son, John, who became a major in the Austrian army and appears to have been sadly neglected by his father who left him in Ireland, and by his brother. He died a

bachelor. Among the papers is a letter from him to his brother Nicholas, whom he addresses as 'le Comte de Barnewall':—

Vienn, April 4, 1780.

Monsieur le Comte de Barnewall,
à La Mirrolles
pres de Grissolles,
Languedoc, France.
d'Autriche à Toulouse.

My Dr. Brother,

I wrote to you some time ago wherein I beged you would be so kind as to send me a certificate signed by the president your Brother in Law and the Notary that the obligation that I have on the bank of Vienne is part of my legitieme left by my father. . . .

I see no likelihoōd of a pease between England and France . . . I cannot conceive how England keeps up credit so long as it does, I am curious to see how all this will end between the great powers and whether in the end all Yourope may not be put att the ears. . .

Your most affectionate and Loving Brother
J^rⁿ Barnewall, Major.

There are also among the papers at Toulouse letters from Lady Gormanston to Richard, written at Laval and Paris, about legacies from their sister, Lady Mountgarret, and from her daughter the hon: C. A. Preston who wrote on 27 October, 1771:—"My nephew Gormanston's conduct gives me much anxiety."

Gaston Martin, in his Manuel d'Histoire de la Franc-Maçonnerie Française (Paris 1926) says, referring to this Patent of 1768 "Jean de Barnwall de Trimlestown bears on his escutcheon of baronnet [sic] a shield argent, with fifteen spots of ermine, with the motto, closely resembling that of the dukes of Brittany, and with the same tinctures: 'Malo mori quam foedari'." M. Martin is a native of Brittany, but he errs badly when he adds "It was only in 1745 that Louis XV, when naturalising him, created him a French Count. He then resided in the suburbs of Toulouse; he founded the Lodge which bore the name of Écossais Fidèles, then Sagesse et Union, and finally Sagesse only."

As to the latter statement, the writer, intrigued by this and contradictory references to le Comte de Barnaval in two other French histories of freemasonry, on searching in the archives of the Grand Orient, found the following document, which was lodged there in support of the petition of a Toulouse Lodge, Les Élus de

Chartres,* presented to the Grand Orient for the grant of a warrant in 1774 :—

“ The year 1741 and the 2nd day of the month of February, We Richard de Barnaval, son of lord Trimleston, peer of the Kingdom of Ireland, residing in the town of Toulouse, in France, by virtue of the power given to us by lord Kingsland, Grand Master of the freemasons of the freemasonry of Ireland, have established and constituted a Lodge of freemasons in the said town under the title of the Lodge of St-John of Toulouse. In consequence of such constitution we have been nominated Master of the said Lodge, brother Jean de Barnewal [sic] 1st surveillant, and brother Comte de Valence second surveillant, with powers to the said Lodge to proceed to all the labours of Freemasonry, even to establish and found other lodges both in the said town and elsewhere ; which brethren, assembled and composing the said Lodge have all promised, with the accustomed ceremonies, to observe all the regulations of the society of freemasons, in faith whereof we have subscribed our names and affixed hereto both our own seal and that of the Lodge. Done at Toulouse the year and day aforesaid.”

(signed) de Barnaval.

(signed) de Barnaval.

“ Collation by us commissaires, prepared from its actual “ original word for word in faith whereof we have caused the seal “ of the Resp. L. des élus de Chartres to be affixed Done at Toulouse “ the 19 December 1774.”

Signed and sealed by ten members.

“ Seal of the Lodge ” “ Sealed and stamped by our
keeper of the seal
J. Esquerol.”

It is here pertinent to remark that lord Kingsland, Richard's brother-in-law, was Grand Master of the Irish Grand Lodge of St-John for two years from June 1733, that is during the lifetime of his sister, Frances, and therefore prior to the emigration of Richard ; and that if he in fact held a warrant to found an Irish lodge in Toulouse, this document should have been recited, and it certainly would not have purported to grant him power to erect other lodges, and in a foreign country, for such procedure is quite unknown ; moreover there is no record in Dublin of any such transaction. As Grand Master, however, Lord Kingsland has left his mark, as the following resolution appears in the Constitutions of Grand Lodge :—

“ We, the Grand Master of the Right Worshipful and Most

* So called because the Duke of Chartres had been the Grand Master of French freemasons.

Ancient Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons, the Deputy Grand Master and Grand Wardens, having perused the Pocket Companion, do give our solemn Approbation to the printing of the same, and do recommend it for the Use of the Brethren.

Kingsland, Grand Master.
James Brennan, M.D., Deputy.
Wm. Cobbe } Esqs., G.W.
John Baldwin } 1734.

John Barnewall, who took part in the foundation of lodge St-Jean with Richard, was his elder brother, and there is no mention of a member of that name in the dossier of *Les Élus de Chartres*, although both brothers and Nicholas were living near Toulouse in 1774. He was naturalised at Versailles in March 1745, and on 24th April following, when residing at Verdun sur Garonne, near Toulouse, obtained a license at Bourdeaux to act as land agent. He died in 1776 childless.

The hope of gleaning further information at Toulouse of the masonic activities of the Barnewalls or of their cousin, lord Kingsland, or about the document of 2nd February 1741 did not materialise, for the only document of that nature found is a letter of 20th January 1784 addressed to Nicholas as "the son of the illustrious founder of masonry in the Orients of France and the worthy heir of his virtues." So we must revert to those found in Paris.

At least three Toulouse lodges mention le Comte de Barnaval as the pioneer of masonry there, but that of 1741 alone identifies him as Richard. Here is one report:—

"The Regular Lodge St-Joseph des Arts, composed of 17 brethren, was founded on 15th July by the Lodge of St-Andrew des Arts of the Orient of Paris, and was the third erected in Toulouse. The first was founded in 1741 under the title of St-Jean by Bro : de Barnevall, son of lord Trimleston, peer of Ireland. The second was constituted in 1743 by the duke Dantin, G.M. of the lodges of France, under the title of Française. These two lodges did not pull with pleasure over the constitution of St-Joseph des Arts, because the brethren who composed it were ill received in their temples. Although it was recognised by the Lodge Française, the other would never acknowledge it."

The most interesting dossier found there, however, is that of Loge La Paix, as it contained a printed pamphlet of 57 pages, autographed "de Barnaval," giving a full account of the constitution

of that lodge by him under a deputation from Grand Orient on 4th June 1782, the names of its members and of the visitors present, and the long address that he delivered from the chair, when he said "Si dans l'exercice des funtions à la place qui j'ai le faveur d'occuper, j'ai jamais approuvé les émotions d'une joie vive et pure, c'est sans contredit dans ce moment."

This "de Barnaval" is Nicholas Barnewall, son of Richard, and it thus appears that he was a leading light in Toulouse masonry down to the day that he fled to Ireland with his son John Thomas, and daughter Rosalie, there to become the 14th Baron Trimlestown, and to inherit the estates of his maternal grandfather and occupy his mansion at Turvey. His "countess" he had buried in the church of St-Etienne at Toulouse; the receipt for her funeral expenses bears date 25th May, 1782.

The search among the archives of the Grand Orient of France in Paris also brought to light another document of Irish interest, the formal constitution, engraved and engrossed on parchment, of a lodge of freemasons of Walsh's Irish Regiment. The genealogy of Antoine Joseph Philippe, 2nd Comte de Serrant, who then commanded the Regiment, may be seen in Burke's Landed Gentry of Ireland. His line still flourishes.

The translation of the petition presented by the lodge to obtain a warrant is as follows:—

Petition No : 1379 presented on 21st October, 1776.

To the Very Worshipful the Grand Orient of France
Very worshipful Brethren,

The brethren composing the Lodge of St-John known by the distinctive title of La Parfaite Égalité, at the Orient of Walsh's Irish regiment fraternally beseech you to grant them the renewal of their Constitutions as at the date of the twenty-fifth March one thousand six hundred and eighty-eight, day of their original Constitution, already renewed by the Grande Loge de France the 9th October one thousand seven hundred and seventy-two. Promising to conform to the laws made by the G: O:, and they will not cease to make vows for the Glory, for the prosperity of the Order.

Very worshipful Brethren,

The brethren composing the said lodge, La Parfaite Égalité.

D'Arey ; Begg ; Keating ; Perot ; Croly ; O'Dunne ; Bonnelle ; Gallwey ; Sarsfield ; master. Nugent ; Walsh ; Chevalier O'Connor ; Hemery ; Roehe ; MacCarthy.



WARRANT CONSTITUTING A LODGE OF FREEMASONS OF WALSH'S IRISH REGIMENT.

The following is a translation of the Warrant, to which is attached, by ribbons, a tin box containing wax impressions of the seals of the Duke of Luxembourg, and of the Grand Lodge. The box lies at the left hand top corner of the photograph (Plate IX).

TO THE GLORY OF THE GREAT ARCHITECT OF THE UNIVERSE AND
FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE ROYAL ART.

From a very regular, very strong and very lustrous place where
silence, peace and equality reign.

To all dear Brethren, Masters of Regular Lodges scattered around
the surface of the globe.

Salutations—Strength—Union.

By the good will and pleasure of the Most Worshipful Grand Master of all the regular Lodges of France, our very dear and very illustrious Brother, His Royal Highness Louis Philippe Joseph of Orleans, Duke of Chartres, Prince of the Blood, We, his Substitute General, Worshipful Masters and Grand Officers of the Grand Lodge of France, on reading the petition of the Lodge of Walsh's Regiment, an Irish one, praying that we may be pleased to grant them a warrant to erect in perpetuity a regular Lodge under the distinctive name of "The Perfect Equality", wherein to perform the labours of the Royal Art in obedience to the laws and constitutions of our said Grand Lodge, ratifying and acknowledging the said petition, We have by these presents Erected and Constituted, erect and constitute for the said Walsh's Irish Regiment a regular Lodge under the distinctive name of "The Perfect Equality", therein to perform the labours of the Royal Art in conformity with the laws and constitutions of our said Grand Lodge, ratifying and acknowledging so far as need be the labours hitherto performed by it in good faith, We nominate our dear Brother John Gaynar as Worshipful Master to govern the said Lodge, our dear Brother Francis Perrot as Senior Warden and our dear Brother Gilles Tournent as Junior Warden, which three officers shall with the other members, together and by ballot elect all the other officers, charging all the Brethren of the said Lodge to assemble yearly within the fortnight that includes the Summer Fete of St.-John, to proceed to the election or re-election of officers, to follow and execute, cause to be followed and executed the constitutions and laws of our said Grand Lodge of which we have supplied them with a copy by our Grand Secretary. Moreover we charge all our dear Brethren, Masters of Lodges and others to recognise the

aforesaid Lodge "The Perfect Equality" as regular, to receive and welcome as good Brethren every holder of its certificate. In witness whereof we have caused this present warrant to be delivered to it. Executed and Delivered at the Grand East of Paris, in the year of Great Light five thousand seven hundred and seventy two on the 9th day of the month of October, Signed by us, countersigned by our Grand Secretary and sealed and stamped with the seals and stamps of our said Grand Lodge by our Grand Keeper of Seals and Archives, and countersealed with the arms of our Most Worshipful Grand Master and of the Worshipful Brother, Substitute General, to the end that the said Lodge shall take precedence as of the 25th March one thousand six hundred and eighty eight date of their original constitution deposited in the archives of the very regular Grand Lodge.

Executed by us, peer of France, Brigadier of the Armies of the King, Duke of Luxembourg, sovereign Administrator of the regular Lodges of France

Puysieux	Léveillé	Lucas	de Boulainvilliers	Bruneteau
Baron Toussaint		Guillot, Treasurer		Bourgeois
	Huet		Gaynard	
Le Lorrain			Lexeombert	Martin

Sealed and stamped
above the presents by
Us, the undersigned
Keeper of the Seals
Stamps and Archives
of the Grand Lodge
of France

By command of the very regular
Grand Lodge of France, the presents are
delivered by us, the undersigned Grand
Secretary of the said Grand Lodge.
Daubertin
Registered F.R.43 by us, Grand Seeretary
for the provinces.

Duret

Labady.

The origin of Walsh's Regiment has been traced to the Royal Irish Regiment of Foot Guards, established by Charles II. James II had it re-officered by followers of his own nomination. On 25th March, 1688 it is known to have been in garrison at Dublin, and at that period, this was New Year's Day, and a feast day with operative masons.

In 1691, following the treaty of Limerick, most of the officers, and some 500 men passed into the service of France, where it became the bodyguard of James II, and in 1697 it passed into the Irish Brigade of the French army as No. 92; but was known by the

names of its colonels for the time-being, and until 1718 as Dorrington's. It is stated in Bord's History of freemasonry in France that Dorrington was a freemason, as also Michael Rothe, mistaken by Bord for the Scottish earl of Rothes. The history of that family by G. D. Burtchaell, appeared in our Journal for 1886, and shows that the Rothes, father and son, were connected or in touch with the regiment from 1685 to 1765.* Two rolls of members of the Lodge are here reproduced.

ROLLS OF THE MEMBERS OF LODGE LA PARFAITE ÉGALITÉ HELD
BY THE GRAND ORIENT OF FRANCE.

No. 2403, 1st December, 1777.

D'Arcy, Captain, master. Sarsfield, Captain. MacCarthy, Officer. Keating, Officer. Galwey, Officer. Perrot, Sergeant-Major. Nugent, Officer. Chevalier Walsh, Captain. Roche, Captain. Hemery, Sergeant-Major. Bonnelle, Surgeon. Tourment, Sergeant-Major. Chevalier Walsh, Officer. Comte Walsh de Sarrant. Chevalier O'Connor, Officer. Plunkett, Officer. Nagle, Captain. Crowly, Officer. O'Brien, Captain. Begg, Officer. Bosquet, Sergeant-Major. Sweetman, Officer. O'Shiel, Officer. Baron de Walsh, Captain. Hely, Officer. Chevalier Sutton de Clonard, Officer of Marine. Woolff, Officer.

By command of the Regular Lodge La Parfaite Égalité of the Officers of Walsh's Regiment.

Chevalier Walsh,
Sec. Garde des Sceaux.
Bapaume.

No. 10534, Registered 20th Feb., 1786.

Walsh, Captain-Commandant, master. Robert MacCarthy, Captain. Chevalier Keating, Lieutenant. Begg, Captain. Berbier, Sergeant-Major. Perrot, Ensign. O'Croly, Captain. Donnelle, Surgeon-Major. Keating, Captain. Hemery, Lieutenant. Hay, Sub-Lieutenant. Gallwey, Captain. Chevalier O'Riorden, Sub-Lieutenant. Tóbin, Sub-Lieutenant. O'Brien, Captain-Commandant. Bellew, Captain. O'Shee, Captain. Plunket, Lieutenant. Stack, Lieutenant. O'Riorden, Lieutenant. Barry, Lieutenant. O'Gorman, Lieutenant. Eugene MacCarthy, Lieutenant. Chevalier O'Croly, Sub-Lieutenant. O'Flynn, Sub-Lieutenant. Bulkeley, Sub-Lieutenant. O'Neill, Captain-Commandant.

* Vol. xvii (1886) pp. 623-628.

Honorary members and associates :—Comte de Walsh Serrant, Field Marshal. Barnewall, Captain, Walsh's Regiment. Nugent, Lieutenant, retired. Tempest, Captain, Walsh's Regiment. O'Shiell, Lieutenant. Chevalier O'Connor, Major, Guadaloupe Regiment. Bernede, Officer, Royal Bodyguard. de Lille, Officer, Royal Bodyguard. MacCarthy, Officer of Marine. Baron de Clonard, Master of Infantry Camp.

Adresse :—à Monsieur Barbier.

Sergeant-Major of Walsh's Regiment, l'Isle d'Oleron.

In 1772 the regiment was commanded by Antoine, 2nd Comte Walsh de Serrant, and his brother, Baron de Walsh on the roll, succeeded him. Chevalier Walsh has been identified from the roll of Lodge Les Vrais de l'orient d'Oleron as James Charles Walsh, born in Dublin, 11th May, 1747. Captain Barnewall, of the second roll, was probably George, brother to Sir Bartholomew Barnewall, 7th baronet; he corresponded with his kinsmen at Toulouse.

MISCELLANEA

Murrisk Abbey. Mr. Leask, in his very fine article on Murrisk Abbey (December issue of *Journal*), cites Knox as stating that "it is said to have been founded by the O'Malleys in the XIV century." He then notes that Knox has given no reference to support his statement, and continues : " As to the founders it is most probably correct but the date is not so certain ; the existing buildings belong to the following century."

The following reference to Murrisk appears in the Calendar of Papal Registers, Papal Letters, Vol. XI, p. 294. " 1457, 12 Feb. Licence to Hugh Omaylli, friar, to build a house, church, etc., for Augustinian Friars at Leithearmurse in the diocese of Tuam *alias* Mayo, on land granted by Thady Omayly, captain of his nation."

[NOTE.—Leithearmurse may be a mistake for Leithe[er]jarwmsurge, "the half-quarter of Murrisk".]

This agrees with Mr. Leask's dating from the architecture of the remains ; it is also clear evidence that the O'Malleys were the founders.

PATRICK MORAN.

A Stone Figure from Co. Mayo.

The object¹ which is here noticed was first reported to the National Museum by Rev. Dr. John Ryan, S.J. It had been given him by Dr. MacIntyre of Belmullet, and the initial responsibility for bringing it to light is due to Mr. Micheál Ó Donneadhá, Vocational School, Belmullet.

The figure was found by Mr. John Walshe on the little island of Doirnín na Maoil which lies off Belmullet in Broadhaven Bay. It is in the townland of Derrynaneel,² Barony of Erris, Parish of Kilcommon, Co. Mayo, O.S. 6", Mayo, Sheet 10. It was turned up in digging in a shell heap from which large quantities of shells had been

¹ Nat. Museum, Dublin, Reg. No. 1940 : 312.

² Spelling according to Ordnance Survey Townland Index.

removed from time to time for the making of lime. Mr. Ó Donnchadha attempted to visit the site but failed owing to heavy seas.

The greatest length of the figure is 22.7 cm., the greatest width 10.1 cm. (Plate X). It is formed of a piece of laminated shale,³ 2.9 cm. thick. The effect is on the whole very crude. The stone appears to be a natural piece of shale which itself largely defined the outlines of the figure. It is quite soft and thus easily worked. The proportions are not good—the head and hands are too large for the size of the body and the eyes and mouth for the face. The right side of the face is missing, the fracture representing an ancient break. This is unfortunate as with it is lost the greater part of an inscription. Only two end letters now remain—a D and what appears to be an M. It is not possible to reconstruct the rest of the inscription from these, nor to suggest whether it was in Latin or Irish, the two most likely languages.

The one remaining eye is pear-shaped, the pointed end drooping downwards. The eyebrow consists of a deeply incised line; the eye is defined by a slightly raised ridge all round. The pupil of the eye is simple a hole, slightly chipped round the edges in places. The nose was apparently outlined by incisions and the fragment that remains suggests broad flat-based nostrils. The mouth consisted of a slit drooping at the corners with the top and bottom outlined by incisions. There are remains of a more finely made moustache and a beard on the chin and running up the side of the face to just under the eye. The mouth gives a peevish impression.

There is no neck, but the junction of head and body is marked by a very deep cutting. The body is rather amorphous in shape and is draped in a long single garment like a night-shirt. There is no sign of brooch or girdle. The folds or pleats of the garment are fairly realistically made by deep lines. The right hand and forearm are placed across the body, the left hand lies above them holding a book on the breast. The end of the sleeve on the right wrist is marked by an incised line.

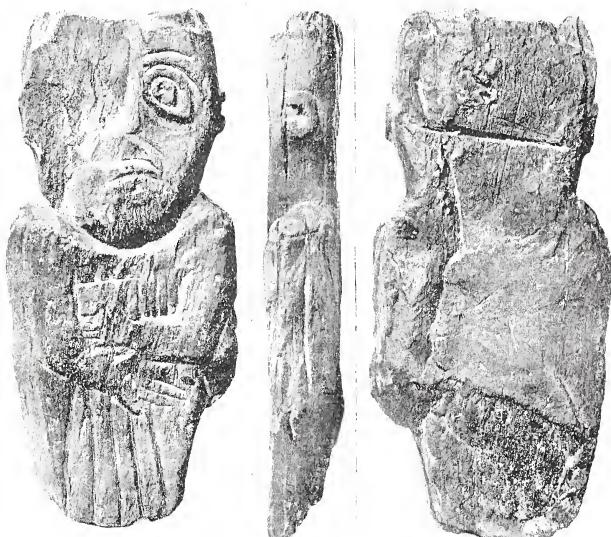
The back was left in its natural state, but the little figure also served a utilitarian purpose, as evidenced by several pin-grooves, one rather deep.

The ears were simple thickened C-shaped projections from the sides of the head, with a tiny round hole in the centre. Whether the head was originally larger and showed a representation of hair is not possible to say, but it seems rather unlikely. The outline of the figure appears to be complete.

³According to a report furnished by Mr. Duffy of the Geological Survey the stone is found outcropping locally.

PLATE X.]

[Facing page 88.



STONE FIGURE FROM DERRYNANEEL, CO. MAYO

This little figure is, so far, the only one of its size known from Ireland, and while much larger figures such as those at Tanderagge and White Island and on the monumental High Crosses indicate an Irish ability to work in stone it is interesting to discover such a casual figurine, which might have been used as an object of private devotion. Any attempt at identification or dating must necessarily remain hazardous, but clearly an attempt is here made to portray at least an ecclesiastic ; it may possibly represent the figure of a saint or even of Christ Himself, though the latter possibility is more remote : Christ is normally depicted with the right hand raised in benediction. The inscription is now unfortunately irrecoverable, but the final letters might possibly be a contraction for the Latin DOMINUS or DOMINI.

As for date : the figure is certainly Christian and thus to be dated later than the introduction of Christianity and the general spread of Latin learning. This suggests an earliest date about the 7th century A.D. A latest date is not easy to arrive at, but parallels amongst existing Irish material of the Early Christian Period help us to a closer approximation to the chronological position of the figurine. It is an image which is nowhere duplicated, and its closest analogies are, not of stone, but of metal. The figures represented on the High Crosses are entirely unlike that under discussion, and the only one holding a book—on the Cross of Muiredach at Monasterboice—is totally different both in feeling and in treatment.

Amongst metal-work a parallel—but not really very close—is afforded by the bronze shrine mount from Aghaboe, Co. Laoighis.⁴ This consists of a decorated metal border surrounding a raised figure, presumably of a bishop or abbot, to judge from the pastoral staff which he carries in his right hand. In his left he holds a book, and the general treatment of the head—flat top, flat nose, prominent C-shaped ears—is not too unlike that of the Derrynaneel specimen. On stylistic grounds I would date the Aghaboe mount to the second half of the 9th century.

The treatment of the beard, the peculiar shape of the mouth, the nose, the shape of the eye are all features which are common to what may be described as the native stream of Irish Christian Art, and belong to a period antedating 1000 A.D. On the other hand the position of the hands and the presence of the book are features which are characteristic of the human figure of post-Norman metal-work in this country, as represented particularly on the shrines. The drapery of the figure is also very un-Irish, and above

⁴ *Christian Art in Ancient Ireland*, I, pl. 18 : 5 ; II, p. 145.

all there is completely absent any tendency to interpret the figure in terms of ornament. The dress is simply covering for the body, not an excuse for very elaborate interlacing or scroll-work which we see, for example, on the figure of Christ crucified on the Athlone pax.⁵ This is of bronze-covered iron and may be dated to about the middle of the 8th century A.D.

In fact the Derrynaneel figure clearly had a utilitarian rather than an aesthetic value, and though the limitations of the material—laminated shale—may have had much to do with determining the shape of the figure and with any decoration of a curved nature, I feel that, in spite of the stylistic differences of the head treatment, it belongs to a late period of Irish art, to that post-Norman Ireland when a hermit of the west coast, upset by the difficulties of the times, would, in the absence of anything better to hand, have carved for his private devotions such a small figure from a piece of local stone. In this way the conservative or traditional, native, style would be combined with the new artistic ideas of figure sculpture which were being introduced into Ireland in the 12th and 13th centuries under the influence of ecclesiastical reform and Anglo-Norman patronage.

JOSEPH RAFTERY.

The Turoe Stone. Lady Shaw of Bushy Park, Terenure, Dublin, has kindly brought to my notice the fact that the Turoe stone, described in the last number of our JOURNAL, was first brought to scientific notice by her sister, Mrs. Prescott Dene of Radnorshire. This fact has not heretofore been placed on record, and I consider that the JOURNAL is a fitting place in which to pay tribute to Mrs. Dene for her action.

Through an oversight the fact that by providing the drawings of Figs. 2, 3 and 5 of the excavation report, Dr. Hayes McCoy placed us under a debt was unfortunately omitted. I note it here as the signature of the drawings is too small in reduction to indicate their authorship.

JOSEPH RAFTERY.

⁵ *Christian Art in Ancient Ireland*, I: Pl. 28; II, p. 105f.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

Books marked thus * are by Members of the Society.

**Malachi Horan Remembers*. By DR. GEORGE A. LITTLE. M. H. Gill & Son, Dublin, 1943. Price 6s.

This volume, compiled by the energetic President of the Old Dublin Society, has now appeared in a third edition, and this is a well-merited tribute both to that fine old story-teller, Malachi Horan himself, and to the man whose feeling for the Irish countryside and all things appertaining to it caused him to appreciate the value to students of social history of the store of material still preserved by the retentive memories of a dying race of stalwarts. For Dr. Little is a man who knows how to evaluate the oral traditions of the past and who realises how important it is that every particle of folk tradition should be written down before it is too late. In this book he gives Malachi Horan's memories in the form of conversational dialogue, and while it is a useful literary method, it occasionally tends to make the narrative rather jerky; though on the whole the smooth flow of question and answer provides such interesting material, is sometimes so naïve and sometimes so deeply philosophical, that any discords are rarely noticed. The style is charming, so much so indeed that one wonders just how much of it has been edited by Dr. Little himself; though if such has been the case we feel sure that the accurate reporting, which can be so clearly perceived on every page, has not in the least been injured.

The only criticism we should like to make, and it is a minor one, is with regard to the presentation of the material. We have referred to a certain jerkiness here and there, and we feel that a greater amount of subdivision, or a grouping into sections to cover different subjects, might have enhanced somewhat, if that were possible, the reference value of the work.

We feel that great credit is due to Dr. Little for the trouble he took to put down on paper what he ardently, though pleasurable, collected from Malachi Horan; the publishers have produced a pleasant volume in difficult times, while it is a fitting memorial to the man in whom the life of a past generation lives again for us, a generation of whom Tomás Ó Criomhthain said so graphically "Ni bheidh a leithéidí aris ann."

J. R.

Leabhar Branach : The Book of the O'Byrnes. Edited by SEÁN MAC AIRT. pp. xviii + 454. Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1944. 12s. 6d.

THIS is an admirable edition of the 73 poems which have been preserved in the collection called the Leabhar Branach, poems by various authors including such well known men as Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn, written mostly in the sixteenth century in eulogy of the chiefs of the Uí Bhroin (O'Byrnes) of Gabhal Raghnaill, of whom the best known is Feagh mcHugh O'Byrne. The editor's introduction sets out the manuscripts, one of which is now at Harvard, and gives a short description of the metres used, and of the

historical background of the poems. The notes are excellent, and there are full indices of personal names and place-names, to both of which the editor has devoted careful research. A few pages of interesting miscellaneous matter are given at the end; presumably the genealogical material which the manuscripts contain was omitted on the ground that it would have overburdened the book: it would, of course, only be of interest to the specialist.

Now that a good index of the place-names contained in the *Leabhar Branach* is available, it is worth while calling attention to a point of interest, which the editor touches on at p. 356. On studying them, it becomes clear that the writers often did not know the old Irish names, and that they used the popular forms that were current among the local people, English or Irish, when they wrote, giving them, according to the sound, a Gaelic spelling which might or might not represent the true name.

The name *Cill Faoláin* (l. 1678) is a good example. Hogan refers this to a place in Laoighis, now locally called Kilwhelan, but the editor rightly identifies it with Killeelan, Co. Kildare, as the same stanza of the poem names Baile Shiomaini, that is, Simonstown in Killeelan parish (not Donaghcumper), and Béil an Tuair, which is Ballitore, about three miles away. In the notes to the Martyrology of Oengus this church is called "cill giallán in huib Muiredaig," and it appears in the Crede Mihi list of churches as Ecclesia de Kilgelan (date about 1280). But the pronunciation had changed by the sixteenth century, for we find the name spelled Kilhelan in the Graney Inquisition, 1538. It was in some such form as this that the poet knew the name, and so he guessed it, wrongly, to represent *Cill Faoláin*.

Again, the names Baile an Chinn Léith (l. 1886) and Baile (Buaile) Fraidhion (l. 1798) represent Kindlestow and Freynestown, as the context shows. Neither name occurs in any early Irish document; both are of Anglo-Norman origin. Kindlestow is called Kenlyestoun in 1377/8, and an entry in the Pipe Roll for 1339/40 shows that it was so called because it had belonged to Albert de Kenley, sheriff of Co. Kildare. In the 16th century it appears in such forms as Kyleston, and later as Kinleston alias Ballykinley: hence the spelling Baile an Chinn Léith. Freynestown (now pronounced Fryanstown) is written freigneston in an early 14th century document in the Red Book of Ormond, and the name is clearly derived from the family of De Freigne, who were seneschals to the Butlers. It is spelled Frayneston, Fraoneston, in the sixteenth century, and must have been pronounced very much as it is now: hence Baile Fraidhion. Or take Reabó (l. 1866), for the present Roebuck, in Taney parish. This is spelled Rathbo, Rabo, in 13th and 14th century documents; but in the St. Patrick's Inquisition of 1547 it appears as Rebowe, and it is obvious that it was a form like this that the writer of the poem was trying to put into Irish, and that the old Irish name had been forgotten.

Other examples will easily be noticed, such as *Cill Eision* (l. 1737), for Killeshin, which is derived from an original Glenn Uissen (AU 1042), but which is written Kylesshan in 1544: or *Cill mo Cidhgóig* (l. 1859) for Kilmashogue, only a transliteration of the form Kilmachioke found in a deed of 1568.

Notice that the poet makes no effort to interpret a name like Glenmalure, familiar to all his hearers, but writes according to the sound *Gleann Mo Luradh* (l. 4555) or, as in the title to the book, *Gleann Moluara*, a form very like the *Gleann Molura* of the Annals of *Loch Cé*. On this name see the editor's interesting note at p. 340.

It follows that when we find a form like Dún Luadháin (l. 1793) for Dunlavin, a form which occurs nowhere else, we may be quite satisfied that it is only the poet's attempt to represent the name as it was pronounced in his time, as shown by spellings like Donlovan (1547), Downlowane (1578). The evidence that we have strongly suggests that the old Irish form of the name was Dún Liamhna. Such a case would be exactly paralleled by the spelling Bláth Gall (l. 1820), if we accept that this is intended to represent Blackhall.

This is only one point of interest that occurs to one on reading the book; but the space available has already been exceeded. The Institute of Advanced Studies, as well as the editor, are to be congratulated on this book, which is well turned out and published at a very reasonable price. L. P.

The Three Ages. An Essay on Archaeological Method. By GLYN E. DANIEL, M.A., Ph.D. Cambridge : At the University Press, 1943. pp. 60. 3s. 6d. net.

DR. DANIEL is well known to prehistorians for his writings on megalithic tombs. In this book he emerges into a sphere at once wider and of greater appeal not only to archaeologists in general but also to non-archaeologists and in particular to those who, in connection with other studies, have occasion to refer to archaeological findings.

The book opens with an account of Thomsen's enunciation of the "three age system" (published in 1836) and its subsequent demonstration stratigraphically by Worsaae, a pupil of Thomsen's. The idea that man had lived successively in ages of stone, bronze and iron had long since been formulated by the ancient Greek and Roman writers (*e.g.*, Lucretius and Hesiod) and had been hinted at by writers in the eighteenth century, but its "scientific formulation" was due to Thomsen as was its verification by Worsaae. With the general acceptance of the idea it became, as Professor Macalister stated, "the corner stone of modern archaeology." The remainder of Dr. Daniel's book goes to showing that unfortunate misconceptions have arisen because "most subsequent archaeologists slavishly built all their structures on this one foundation stone." It concludes with the challenge that "it is for us to say whether it is to become a millstone hanging around the necks of future archaeologists."

The simpler limitations of the three-age system are readily appreciated and are, indeed, generally recognised. There are no hard and fast lines between the ages but rather considerable periods of overlap; social and personal differences may dictate the possession of or lack of metal; stone continued to be used side by side with metal as did also bronze with iron; as a technological scheme the three ages do not admit of world-wide application.

But besides these more simple and obvious limitations, other sources of confusion arose because of the development of the simple system as proposed by Thomsen into a complicated succession of sub-divisions, the names for which are sometimes made to carry at once chronological, cultural, typological, functional-economic and other implications. The main portion of Dr. Daniel's essay is devoted to indicating these sources of confusion and this he does capably and concisely. He deserves our best thanks for having drawn attention to the difficulties that have arisen and the fact that he has made us conscious of the ambiguities of our systems and nomenclature

may help ultimately to reduce them to more logical order. Too suddenly to attempt to do this, however, might merely result in making confusion worse confounded, might result in a new crop of terms the connotation of which might be not less ambiguous than the old. Prehistoric science is, the author claims, beginning to climb from the second stage (dull pedestrian specialisation) into the third stage (reviewing afresh of facts and checking of generalisations that they may be put on a new basis). The advancos made by the science have certainly been great but they are sporadic rather than universal and the gaps are considerable. The growing pains should not be mistaken for maturity and we should hesitate too hastily to attempt generalised schemes which will merely create further difficulties for our successors.

S. P. O. R.

**The Kenmare Manuscripts*. Edited by EDWARD MACLYSAGHT, M.A., M.R.I.A., Government Publications Sale Office, 3-4 College Street, Dublin. 30s.

THIS present volume deals with the family papers and manuscripts belonging to the Earl of Kenmare. Apart from a French 15th century Book of Hours and recent but authentic copies of some sixteenth century deeds, the earliest documents in the collection are two Stuart grants, dated 1620 and 1637, and a certificate of Knighthood conferred in 1648 by Pope Innocent X on Sir Nicholas Plunkett.

The letters of Mme. da Cunha in the collection constitute a most valuable section. These private letters which begin in 1716 and cease in the Spring of 1729-30, contain much personal information about various members of the family and its connections. They give, too, the Catholic point of view at the time when the Penal Laws in England as well as in Ireland, were at their severest.

The documents are well catalogued under five sections : Part I. Correspondence ; Part II. Rentals, etc. ; Part III. Estate Accounts ; Part IV, Legal Documents ; Part V. Miscellaneous. As the editor points out the peculiar character and special interest of this collection lies in the fact that while the great majority of such collections still preserved relate to the estates and families of English Protestant settlers, often Cromwellian in origin, here we are dealing with people whose traditions and outlook are Catholic. In their letters we can read at first hand of the problems which confronted Catholics in the Penal times, particularly Catholics of property and position ; we come across pictures of daily life in well-to-do Catholic households. We have in the Kenmare papers, as a whole, the story of an aristocratic family which, without exhibiting the least trace of bigotry, never slackened in their allegiance to the proscribed faith and are indeed remarkable for their steadfastness at a time when many of their equals gave way under the strain.

The volume closes with an Appendix containing a list of some documents which had escaped attention until the work had gone to the press, and also valuable Indexes of Places and Persons. Mr. E. MacLysaght deserves every praise for this excellent work.

Index to the Compossession Booke of Conought, 1585. Prepared by G. A. HAYES-MCCOY, M.A., PH.D. Government Publications Sale Office, 3-4 College Street, Dublin. 3s. 6d.

THE Compossession Booke of Conought contains the details of the agreement made in July-October, 1585, between the lords of the West of Ireland and

the Royal Commission under Sir Richard Bingham for a resettlement of the country on feudal lines. There is an enumeration of the properties included in each district, and an assignment of lands to the great chiefs as tenants of the Crown and to the smaller chiefs as their vassals. As the book is a source of great value for the history of Connaught and Clare families and placenames the publication of the Index is a work that will be welcomed by all students of history.

The publication contains two Indexes: an *Index of Persons* and an *Index of Place-names*. In editing these the names of countries and baronies have, where necessary, been modernised and these modernisations have been indicated by the use of square brackets. Words commencing with Clan, Mointer and its variants, Pubbell, Sleight, Braght, and Cowrin have been primarily regarded as area designations, and are therefore given in the *Index of Place-names*. Bishops and other ecclesiastics have also been indexed under the name of their bishoprics in the *Index of Place-names*, but cross-references both from the name of the bishopric and from the personal name of the bishop or ecclesiastic, are given in the *Index of Persons*. Mr. G. A. Hayes-McCoy deserves great praise for this important historical work.

Extents of Irish Monastic Possessions, 1540-1541. Edited by NEWPORT B. WHITE. Dublin: Stationery Office, 1943. Pp. 453. 21s. net.

THIS bulky volume, edited for that splendidly active body, the Irish Manuscripts Commission, by Mr. Newport White, from documents in the Public Record Office, London, contains surveys of the property owned by the various Irish religious houses at the date of their suppression by Henry VIII. Certain financial details connected with the properties are added. The counties dealt with are Carlow, Cork, Dublin, Kildare, Kilkenny, Limerick, Louth, Meath (with Westmeath), Tipperary, Waterford and Wexford. Of these establishments whose possessions, spiritual and temporal, passed to the King as "on earth supreme head of the English and Irish Church" 83 belonged to the Franciscan and other friars, 71 to the Cistercian and other monks, and to Canons Regular, 10 to nuns.

In the matter of revenues the most richly endowed monastery in Ireland was obviously that of the Knights Hospitaller of St. John of Jerusalem at Kilmainham. Next came the Cistercian Abbey of St. Mary, Dublin, and the Augustinian Abbey at Thomas Court, Dublin. The three owned large and valuable estates, whose administration must have required the services of an expert staff. On a much smaller scale were the provincial abbeys, even the greatest, like Tintern and Dunbrody. From the worldly point of view the contrast between the real and stable resources of the chief monasteries and the poverty, if not penury, of the friars' houses, might well excite pity. The convents, also, seem to have had very modest endowments.

Historians and economists will find this volume full of curious and useful information. Among the family names of tenants and others are many far too insignificant to deserve mention in any Irish genealogy. Placenames likewise are interesting, though here the reader must be warned not to expect too much of the editor's identifications. Then there are the rents, and the money value of animals and things.

On the cultural side we may note the reference to the organist at Kilmainham, James White, who had a house and nearly four acres of land, for

life, free of rent, with food and drink, and a salary worth apparently more than a thousand pounds per annum in our currency. Of incidental notices one that attracts attention records that the church, chancel and part of the dormitory of the Franciscan friary at Clane were taken down by the Deputy, Lord Leonard Grey, and the materials carted to Maynooth to repair the damage caused to the castle during the rebellion of Silken Thomas. The whole volume does very great credit indeed to the editor, to the Irish Manuscripts Commission and to the printers.

Bibliography of Irish Philology and Manuscript Literature. Continuation for the years 1913–1941. By R. I. Best. Pp. x + 251. Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies. 1942. 7s. 6d.

So much work has been done in these branches of Irish literary and historical study since Dr. Best published his original handbook in 1913 that this volume is nearly as large as the first. For example, Thurneysen's publications, which took up a column in the index to the first volume, require here two columns of the index for work produced since 1913. This book, like the 1913 volume, is a necessary addition to the library of anyone interested in Irish studies, and we are under a great debt of gratitude to Dr. Best for undertaking the laborious work of bringing the compilation up to date. The author has made some slight modifications in the arrangement of the material, for instance in the listing of editions of Early Poetry; but in any case the full index makes reference easy. It is interesting to note the accuracy of Dr. Best's work; after a lapse of 29 years his list of *Corrigenda* to Vol. I (some of which are in fact *Addenda*) only occupies one and a half pages.

Progress and Archaeology. By V. GORDON CHILDE, D.LITT., D.Sc. Pp. 119. London: Watts & Co. 1944. Price 2s. 6d.

THIS little book describes shortly and attractively what archaeology has to tell us of progress in man's material culture and equipment since the dawn of the palaeolithic age in the dim past. Written history covers only about one-hundredth part of human history; but archaeology reveals that from the very start of the later palaeolithic, say 50,000 years ago, men have been physically the same as men of the present day: no really significant bodily improvement is recognizable in human skeletons. This fact, that man, as we know him, has for an enormously long time been enjoying some sort of culture, however primitive, is of great importance; being a comparatively new discovery it is still strange to many of us. Of course, little is known of the life these early savages lived; most of this book deals with the early farmers, craftsmen and city populations of three, four or five thousand years ago. It is remarkable to read of the complicated equipment with which urban civilizations were provided: in the recently discovered cities of the Indus civilization (of Scinde in India) all the better class houses had specially constructed bathrooms in 2500 B.C. The author's comments are always interesting, even if we differ from some of them; he quotes an American Committee's report of 1937: "In 1787 the surplus produced by 19 farmers was required to support one city dweller; now 19 farmers produce on the average sufficient to support 56 city dwellers and 10 foreigners"; and he comments

that the results of the neolithic discovery of farming might be comparable to this, if the data were available, but that, while the advances of the Neolithic and of the Iron Age have stood the test of time, "a visit to the 'Dust-Bowl' suffices to inspire doubts as to how far large-scale mechanized farming will continue to be productive."

**Old Irish and Highland Dress.* By H. F. MCCLINTOCK. W. Tempest, Dundalgan Press. 1943. 25s. net.

BOTH general reader and specialist owe a debt of gratitude to Major McClintock for this charmingly illustrated and beautifully produced volume. Not only does it form a very valuable addition to the almost negligible textile literature of Ireland in particular—it also provides a link in the wider chain of knowledge of early costumes throughout Europe as a whole. Moreover, Major McClintock is to be congratulated on the way in which he has presented much scattered material in a pleasantly readable manner, for his clarity of exposition is no less admirable than his patient examination of many and varied sources. Thus these include written and illustrated documents, printed accounts, sculptured, metal and painted work, as well as the few surviving garments, and the contemporary evidence thereby afforded ranges in the Irish section from the 9th to the 17th century and in the Highland from the 11th to the 18th.

Admittedly there is still room for expansion, especially on the purely Irish side. For instance, it is just possible that some marginal drawing on an Irish manuscript abroad, some neglected feature of primitive European dress, or some early linguistic detail may yet help to complete the picture. But these are only possibilities, not absolute certainties. They do not detract from what this reviewer feels to be the outstanding achievement of this book—the provision of an adequate framework to which further evidence from manuscript or material sources may be easily related. So far no similar study has emerged from the purely linguistic or literary side of Irish Scholarship, and this makes Major McClintock's work all the more valuable.

The Highland section is mainly concerned with the development of the kilt, but there is no pretence at dealing exhaustively with the subject, which has, indeed, already received a certain amount of attention from other writers. Consequently it is treated here in a more general way, and in its relation to later phases of Irish dress. Regarded as such, however, this section too, makes excellent reading.

A. K. L.

PROCEEDINGS

Meetings of the Society were held as follows :—

1.—25th January, 1944. Annual General Meeting, at the Society's House, Dublin, at 5.30 o'clock, p.m. T. S. C. DAGG, *Fellow*, was in the Chair.

The Chairman declared the following to be elected to their respective Offices, no other nominations having been received :

President—HAROLD G. LEASK, M.ARCH., M.R.I.A., *Fellow*.
Hon. Treasurer—JOHN MAHER, *Member*.

Hon. Gen. Secretary—J. J. TIERNEY, M.A., *Member*.

Members of Council—C. P. CURRAN, *Fellow*; The LADY DOROTHY LOWRY-CORRY, *Fellow*; E. M. STEPHENS, *Member*.
Hon. Auditors—G. B. SYMES, *Member*, and PROFESSOR G. O'BRIEN, *Member*.

Senator D. O'SULLIVAN, *Member*, was advanced to *Fellowship*.

Three members were added to the Society's Roll.

The Report of the Council for 1943 was adopted and ordered to be printed.

The following paper was read :—

“Freemen of Cork from the Boyne to the Union,” by Eoin O'Mahony, *Fellow*.

2. 7th March, 1944. At the Society's House, at 5.15 p.m., H. G. LEASK, *President*, was in the Chair.

The following paper was read :—

“Irish Agriculture in Early Historic Times,” by M. Duignan, M.A.

3.—25th April, 1944. A Quarterly Meeting at the Society's House, at 5.15 p.m. H. G. LEASK, *President*, was in the Chair.

The Report of the Auditors for 1943 was received and adopted. Six *Members* were added to the Society's Roll.

The following paper was read :—

“Recent Acquisitions to the National Museum,” by Dr. J. Raftery, *Member*.

6th May, 1944. The Spring Excursion took place at Swords.
The party numbered twenty *Members* and their guests.

4.—6th June, 1944. At the Society's House at 5.15 p.m.
H. G. Leask, *President*, was in the Chair.

The following papers were read :—

“A hoard of Bronze Age trumpets from Dungannon,” and
“Atlantic Trade and Ireland in the Bronze Age,” both
by Eoin MaeWhite, *Member*.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR 1943

At the Annual General Meeting of the Society held on 26th January, 1943, the following were elected to their respective offices :—

PRESIDENT :—Harold G. Leask, M.Arch., M.R.I.A., *Fellow*.

HON. GEN. SECRETARY :—J. J. Tierney, M.A., *Member*.

HON. TREASURER :—J. Maher, *Member*.

MEMBERS OF COUNCIL :—E. MacLysaght, M.A., M.R.I.A., *Fellow* ;
S. Ó Súilleabhaín, *Member* ; V. Rev. M. V. Ronan, P.P.,
M.R.I.A., *Fellow*.

HON. AUDITORS :—George B. Symes, *Fellow* ; Séamus Ó Casáide,
Fellow.

During the year eight Meetings of the Society were held. The papers read and the lectures given at these Meetings are listed in the Journal for 1943, at pages 73 and 155.

The following nominations for President, Officers and Members of Council for 1944 were duly received :—

PRESIDENT :—H. G. Leask, M.Arch., M.R.I.A.

HON. GEN. SECRETARY :—J. J. Tierney, M.A.

HON. TREASURER :—J. Maher.

MEMBERS OF COUNCIL :—C. P. Curran, *Fellow* ; The Lady Dorothy Lowry-Corry, *Fellow* ; E. M. Stephens, *Member*.

The foregoing nominations being in accordance with the Statutes and Bye-laws, and not in excess of the several vacancies, the persons named are to be declared elected to the respective offices for which they have been proposed.

The Council has nominated the following as Hon. Auditors for the year 1944 :—George B. Symes, and Professor George O'Brien. Meetings of the Society will be held during the year 1944 as follows :—

Tuesday,	25th January	...	Annual General Meeting.
,	7th March	...	Meeting for Papers, etc.
,	25th April	...	Quarterly Meeting.
,	6th June	...	Meeting for Papers, etc.
,	?	...	Quarterly (Summer) Meeting.
,	26th September	...	Quarterly Meeting.
,	7th November	...	Meeting for Papers.
,	12th December	...	Statutory Meeting.

During the Session Nine Meetings of the Council were held, at which the attendees were :—

HAROLD G. LEASK, <i>President</i>	8	T. S. C. DAGG, <i>Fellow</i>	7
T. P. LE FANU, <i>Past President</i>	0	E. O'MAHONY, <i>Fellow</i>	4
R. A. S. MACALISTER, <i>Past President</i>	3	Rev. J. L. Robinson, <i>Fellow</i>	7
E. MACNEILL, <i>Past President</i>	0	REV. J. RYAN, <i>Fellow</i>	5
D. A. CHART, <i>Vice-President</i>	0	T. CASSIDY, <i>Fellow</i>	6
B. McM. COFFEY, <i>Vice-President</i>	1	*S. P. Ó RIORDÁIN, <i>Member</i>	2
T. U. SADLER, <i>Vice-President</i>	0	J. RAFFERY, <i>Member</i>	6
Mrs. M. D. O'SULLIVAN, <i>Vice-President</i>	0	E. MACLYSAGHT, <i>Fellow</i>	4
T. H. MASON, <i>Fellow</i>	6	S. Ó SÚILLEABHÁIN, <i>Member</i>	9
REV. C. C. SCANTLEBURY, <i>Member</i>	8	V. REV. M. V. RONAN, <i>Fellow</i>	2
		J. J. TIERNEY, <i>Hon. Gen.</i>	6
		J. MAHER, <i>Hon. Treasurer</i>	7
		L. PRICE, <i>Hon. Editor</i>	7

* Co-opted 15th July, 1943.

EXCURSIONS.

Excursions were made as follows :—

22nd May, 1943.—To Tully Church and Crosses and the Bremanstown Dolmen. The party numbered Twenty-seven.

19th–24th July, 1943.—The Annual Summer Excursion took place in the Province of Munster with Cork as centre. The party numbered Forty-two.

The following historic sites were visited during the four days :— The Church of St. Multose and the “French Prison,” Kinsale;

Elizabeth Fort, St. Finbar's Cathedral, University College, Blarney Castle, Riverstown House, Ennismore House, The Mansion House, North Mall House, Franciscan Friary, and the Quaker Meeting House, Cork ; Myrtle Grove, St. Mary's Church and the Town Hall, Youghal, and Dromana by boat on the Blackwater.

The party was entertained to lunch at Kinsale by Mr. and Mrs. Eamonn O'Neill, and to tea in Cork by Mr. William Dorgan.

2nd October, 1943.—The Dominican Priory, Tallaght. The party numbered Sixty-seven.

MEMBERSHIP.

During the year Twenty-six Members joined the Society.

Members :—Dr. G. Hadden ; Rabbi H. Medalie ; S. F. J. Maskell ; E. Twist ; Miss R. Hilliard ; F. J. Kingston ; Capt. K. Danaher ; R. Dudley Edwards ; Miss J. Ogilvy ; J. Betjeman ; Capt. R. Holroyd-Smith ; Lord Clarina ; The Librarian, County Library, Roscommon ; W. Dorgan ; A. Moore ; Miss S. A. Murphy ; The Most Rev. J. J. MacNamee, Bishop of Ardagh and Clommacnois ; Mrs. H. Nolan ; Mrs. K. English ; G. G. Kirby ; Rev. O. F. Traynor ; F. J. Cole ; B. J. Cantwell ; R. P. Ross Williamson ; Miss Lydia Frazer ; Michael Nolan.

The Resignations of Two Fellows and Eight Members were accepted.

The names of the following Members have been removed from the Roll under Rule 10. They may be restored to membership on payments of the amounts due :—

C. W. Gannon ; C. A. O'Brien ; P. Ó Domhnaill ; J. C. Ogilvie ; Rev. T. Power ; Miss B. Redmond ; J. C. Walsh ; P. T. Walsh.

The deaths of Eleven Fellows and Nine Members were recorded :—

Fellows :—Professor R. M. Butler ; C. C. O'Donoghue ; The O'Conor Don ; V. Rev. T. F. O'Ryan, P.P. ; Professor E. Curtis ; S. Ó Casáide ; V. Rev. W. Farrell, P.P. ; Rev. Canon H. Darling ; A. V. Montgomery ; Rev. Canon Kingsmill Moore ; Rev. Sir J. R. O'Connell.

Members :—H. V. Flinn ; J. Montgomery ; Rt. Rev. H. E. Patton, Bishop of Killaloe ; V. Rev. E. J. Ryan, P.P. ; The Rt. Hon. The Marquess of Ormonde ; H. C. Lawlor ; V. Rev. T. Canon Quinn, P.P. ; J. White ; M. J. W. Fry.

The losses to the Society by deaths and resignations amounted to Thirty. The number removed from the Roll under Rule 10 amounted to Eight and the accessions amounted to Twenty-six.

OBITUARY NOTICES.

Professor EDMUND CURTIS. The death of Professor Edmund Curtis of Trinity College, Dublin, which occurred on the 25th March, 1943, has left Irish historical scholarship notably the poorer and removed from our midst a personality who would have been remarkable and outstanding in any company. Those of us, in particular, who were privileged to belong to his intimate circle of friends throughout the changing years in Ireland, will lament the passing, not only of a fine scholar, but of a shrewd observer of life, who at all times had the courage of his convictions, and whose comments on men and events were invariably stimulating, graceful, as they were, by a literary quality, a gift of anecdote, a sense of humour, and a depth of thought which gave a rare brilliance to his conversation and a unique attraction to his letters. An individualist, not without his idiosyncracies, Professor Curtis certainly was—perhaps he owed that to his Irish heritage—but his upbringing in England, as he himself liked to emphasize, brought to him an appreciation of the value of hard work, a sense of toleration, a respect for the truth of fact, and a power of self-criticism which stood him in good stead in the writing of Irish history.

Graduating from Oxford in 1904 with a notable First Class in Modern History, Edmund Curtis shortly afterwards joined the staff of Sheffield University as Lecturer in Modern History. He remained in Sheffield until 1914 when he came to Dublin University as Erasmus Smith Professor of Modern History, a post which he occupied until 1939. In that year he succeeded Professor Alison Phillips as Lecky Professor of History and held this Chair until his death.

Essentially a medievalist, Professor Curtis began his published work with an account of the Normans in Southern Italy, but it was in the field of medieval Irish history especially that he made his name. In 1923 he produced his *History of Medieval Ireland, 1170-1513*, which added considerably to the researches of earlier workers and at once established his reputation as the leading authority on that subject. A second edition of this, taking the story back to 1014, appeared in 1938. Much new material was now included and the whole work overhauled with a thoroughness and scholarship which are masterly. In the meantime Professor Curtis had

contributed many papers to various learned societies, amongst them the Royal Society of Antiquaries, and had brought out his *Richard II in Ireland*, 1394-5, and *Submissions of the Irish Chiefs*, a valuable edition of thirty-six documents from the Public Record Office, London, bearing upon Anglo-Irish relations and throwing considerable light on the Ireland of that day. In 1936 also he published his general *History of Ireland* in which are combined a scholarship and a readability that made it an instant success—it has already gone to four editions—though historical students cannot fail to observe that even here Professor Curtis is at his happiest in the medieval period.

In recent years came Professor Curtis's great textual work, the *Calendar of Ormond Deeds*, in six volumes—that storehouse of Irish history from the Muniment Room of Kilkenny Castle. This work, undertaken on behalf of the Irish MSS. Commission, with the enthusiasm and the single-minded devotion of the genuine scholar was, fortunately, completed before Professor Curtis's untimely death. It is a monument to his painstaking research and interest in Irish history which has already been extremely well received by scholars outside Ireland, though it has not yet been given at home anything like due recognition. Finally, there has recently appeared, in 1943, *Irish Historical Documents*, 1172-1922, edited by Professor Curtis and his pupil, Dr. R. B. McDowell. Though published after Professor Curtis's death, the work in proof form had been corrected by him. It aims at being a general and representative source-book of the chief documents of Irish history and its appearance now supplies a long-felt want. Professor Curtis, indeed, has made easy for the student the way which he himself, pioneer as he largely was, had to tread, to a great extent, unaided.

The work of Professor Edmund Curtis in Irish history, both from the point of view of scholarship and volume, was a truly fine achievement; it added lustre to Trinity College, and it will remain as the best possible memorial to the man himself.

Mr. H. C. LAWLER. The study of archaeology in Ulster has suffered a great loss by the recent death in Belfast of Mr. H. C. Lawlor, M.A., M.R.I.A. He was conspicuous both as a field worker and a writer. Amongst other work of the former kind are his excavations of the Giant's Ring, near Belfast, and the site of the destroyed Celtic Monastery of Nendrum on Strangford Lough, the latter of which he described in a remarkably thorough and illuminative book *The Monastery of St. Machaoi at Nendrum*. Other publications included *Ulster: Its Archaeology and Antiquities*.

He investigated many of the Ulster souterrains and described the discoveries in learned publications. He was associated very closely with the Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society, in which he founded a very active archaeological section. He was for a period President of that Society and acted as its representative on the Ancient Monuments Advisory Council set up by the Government of Northern Ireland in 1927. When that body produced in 1940 its *Preliminary Survey of Ancient Monuments* of its area, he acted as adviser for the historic monuments of Counties Antrim and Down, of which his personal knowledge was unequalled. In recognition of his services to Archaeology in Ulster, Queen's University, Belfast, conferred on him the honorary degree of Master of Arts.

Mr. EDWARD O'TOOLE. By the death in January, 1943, of Edward O'Toole of Rathvilly, Co. Carlow, the Society lost its Secretary for that county and one of its most active members. Born in Rathvilly in 1860, Mr. O Toole took up the position of assistant teacher in the local school seventeen years later, and from that time until his retirement on full pension in 1925, taught in a number of other schools also. For over sixty years he was prominently associated with many national, athletic, political, educational, religious, and cultural movements. In 1930 he became a member of the Co. Kildare Archaeological Society, and contributed to its journal. An article by him on "A Group of Grooved Standing Stones in North Carlow," was published in *J.R.S.A.I.* (June, 1939). Two very interesting articles by him were published in *Béaloideas*, entitled "North Carlow Folklore" (1927) and "The Holy Wells of Co. Carlow" (1933). He also contributed numerous articles on cultural matters to local papers. His memoirs, under the tentative title "Some Recollections of a Long Life" were luckily at the point of completion when he died. A copy of them presented by Mr. O Toole and his daughter is in the archives of the Irish Folklore Commission.

The number of Fellows and Members now on the Roll is distributed as follows :—

Honorary Fellows	...	...	8
Life Fellows	...	...	33
Fellows	...	...	98
Life Members	...	...	37
Members	...	...	452

FINANCE.

The total receipts from all sources during the year 1943, from subscriptions, dividends, sale of publications, excursions, and miscellaneous receipts, amounted to £915 10s. 7d.

The total expenditure was £735 13s. 6d. as follows :—Printing and illustrating the Journal, Parts III and IV, 1942, and Parts I and II, 1943, £294 9s. 5d. ; rents, salaries, stationery, excursions and general expenses, £441 4s. 1d.

The Society holds investments of £400 in Irish Free State Second National Loan, £100 in Irish Free State Fourth National Loan, and £200 Irish Post Office Savings Certificates.

LIBRARY.

In addition to current periodicals, the following publications were received :—

Calendar of Ormonde Deeds, Vol. VI.

“ Documents relating to Irish History,” edited by E. Curtis.

“ The Three Ages,” by G. E. Daniell.

“ Malachi Horan Remembers,” by Dr. G. A. Little from the Author.

“ Extents of Irish Monastic Possessions, 1540–41,” by Newport B. White.

MSS. Notes on the Parish of Dunshaughlin by Rev. H. McClenaghan from the author.

Miscellaneous Guide Books from Dr. R. A. S. Macalister.

Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland—Statement of Accounts for 1943

RECEIPTS.	£ s. d.	EXPENDITURE.	£ s. d.
By Balance to credit at Bank, 31st December, 1942	128 6 0	To Falconer, J., printing Journal—Parts III and IV 1942, and Parts I and II 1943	225 2 7
" Subscriptions for 1943. Fellows	138 6 0	" Irish Photo Engraving Co.—Blocks	69 6 10
" " Members	367 4 0	Excursions	294 9 5
" " in advance for 1944	22 13 0	" Lantern Slides and Photographs	10 19 6
" " in arrear for 1942	15 10 0	" Library	7 8 9
" Life Composition	10 0 0	" Fuel and Light	6 0 0
" Rents	553 13 0	" Rents, Taxes and Insurance	42 8 1
" Excursions	124 0 0	" Salaries and Wages	60 9 6
" Sale of Publications	11 7 0	" Printing and Stationery	178 15 0
"	34 2 1	Incidentals:—	32 12 7
" Incidents:—		" Expenditure on Premises	32 2 6
" Teas at General Meetings	0 7 6	Cheque Book and Bank Fees	2 8 2
Donation to Society—T. Fitzpatrick	0 5 0	Unpaid Cheque	40 0 0
Cheque (£20) lodged twice, returned, and eventually paid	40 0 0	Postage	74 10 8
" Dividends on £100 2nd Irish Free State National Loan	0 0 0	" Petty Cash	20 0 0
" £100 4th Irish Free State National Loan	0 0 0	Household, Cleaning, etc.	£4 7 2
"		Tea at General Meeting	1 3 8
"		Cash in hand 31/12/43	1 9 2
			7 0 0
		" Balance to credit at Bank, 31st December, 1943	179 17 1
			£915 10 7

We have examined and compared the 1943 Annual Accounts with the Vouchers and Bank Pass Books and found same correct, showing a balance of £179 17s. 1d. due by the Bank on 31st December 1943, with the following investments—£400 Irish Free State 5% 2nd National Loan; £100 3½% 4th National Loan; and £200 (Cash Price) Fire P.O. Savings Certificates. (Signed) G. B. SYMES G. O'BRIEN } Hon Auditors.

4th April, 1944.

The Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland

Hon. Local Secretaries

<i>Antrim</i>	.	.	.	VACANT.
<i>Armagh</i>	.	.	.	THOMAS E. REID, M.B.E.
<i>Belfast City</i>	.	.	.	VACANT.
<i>Carlow</i>	.	.	.	V. REV. JOHN LAWLER, P.P.
<i>Cavan</i>	.	.	.	THOS. BARRON.
<i>Clare</i>	.	.	.	DERMOT F. GLEESON, D.J.
<i>Cork</i>	.	.	.	SEÁN P Ó RIORDÁIN, M.R.I.A.
,, <i>City</i>	.	.	.	" "
<i>Donegal</i>	.	.	.	HARRY P. SWAN.
<i>Down, North</i>	.	.	.	ROBERT S. LEPPER.
,, <i>South</i>	.	.	.	COLONEL R. G. BERRY, M.R.I.A.
<i>Dublin</i>	.	.	.	E. M. STEPHENS.
,, <i>City</i>	.	.	.	THOMAS H. MASON.
<i>Fermanagh</i>	.	.	.	LADY DOROTHY LOWRY CORRY.
<i>Galway</i>	.	.	.	T. B. COSTELLO, M.D., M.R.I.A.
<i>Kerry</i>	.	.	.	BRYAN McMAHON COFFEY, M.D.
<i>Kildare</i>	.	.	.	VACANT.
<i>Kilkenny</i>	.	.	.	W. E. J. DOBBS.
<i>Leitrim</i>	.	.	.	VACANT.
<i>Leix</i>	.	.	.	MISS HELEN M. ROE.
<i>Limerick</i>	.	.	.	V. REV. M. MOLONEY, P.P.
<i>Londonderry</i>	.	.	.	ANDREW McL. MAY.
<i>Longford</i>	.	.	.	JOHN F. KEENAN, M.D.
<i>Louth</i>	.	.	.	HENRY F. MCCLINTOCK.
<i>Mayo, North</i>	.	.	.	FREDERICK V. DEVERE.
,, <i>South</i>	.	.	.	JAMES M. DILLON.
<i>Meath</i>	.	.	.	VACANT.
<i>Monaghan</i>	.	.	.	S. A. D'ARCY, L.R.C.P.I.
<i>Offaly</i>	.	.	.	JOHN R. WADE.
<i>Roscommon</i>	.	.	.	VACANT.
<i>Sligo</i>	.	.	.	HENRY MORRIS.
<i>Tipperary, South</i>	.	.	.	VEN. ARCHDEACON ST. JOHN SEYMOUR, LITT.D., M.R.I.A.
,, <i>North</i>	.	.	.	CAPT. GEORGE WHITFIELD.
<i>Tyrone</i>	.	.	.	MRS. C. B. M. CHAMBRÉ.
<i>Waterford</i>	.	.	.	W. E. JACOB.
,, <i>City</i>	.	.	.	V. REV. PATRICK CANON POWER, M.R.I.A.
<i>Westmeath</i>	.	.	.	HUGH WEIR, M.P.S.I.
<i>Wexford, North</i>	.	.	.	G. E. J. GREENE, D.Sc., M.R.I.A., F.L.S.
,, <i>South</i>	.	.	.	VACANT.
<i>Wicklow, West</i>	.	.	.	LIAM PRICE, D.J.
,, <i>East</i>	.	.	.	FRANCIS E. STEPHENS.

The Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland

This Society, instituted to preserve, examine, and illustrate the Ancient Monuments of the History, Language, Arts, Manners and Customs of the past as connected with Ireland, was founded as the Kilkenny Archaeological Society in 1849. On 27th December, 1869, Queen Victoria was graciously pleased to order that it be called The Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland, and was further pleased to sanction the adoption of the title of THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF IRELAND on the 25th March, 1890. The Society was incorporated by Royal Charter in 1912.

General Meetings of the Society are held each year, in Dublin or elsewhere in Ireland, at which Papers on Historical and Archaeological subjects are read, Fellows and Members elected, objects of Antiquity exhibited, and excursions made to places of antiquarian interest. The Council meets monthly in Dublin. Honorary, Provincial and Local Secretaries are appointed, whose duty it is to inform the Secretary of discoveries of Antiquarian Remains in their districts, to investigate Local History and Traditions, and to give notice of all injury, likely to be inflicted on Monuments of Antiquity and Ancient Memorials of the Dead, in order that the influence of the Society may be exerted to preserve them.

The PUBLICATIONS of the Society comprise the Quarterly *Journal* and the "Extra Volume" Series. The "Antiquarian Handbook" Series was begun in 1895, and seven handbooks have been published.

The *Journal*, from the year 1849 onwards contains a great mass of information on the History and Antiquities of Ireland, with thousands of Illustrations. Seventy-three volumes have been issued.

The following "Extra Volumes," which were supplied free to all Fellows on the roll at date of issue, may still be obtained:—

- 1874—"Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language." Edited by Miss M. STOKES. (With Illustrations and Plates.) Two Vols. Cloth, £2 10 0.
1891—"The Account Roll of the Priory of the Holy Trinity, Dublin, 1337-1346, with the Middle-English Moral Play, *The Pride of Life.*" Edited by JAMES MILLS, M.R.I.A. (With facsimile of original MS.) In sheets, folded, 7s. 6d.
1892—"Antiquarian Remains of the Island of Innismurray." By W. F. WAKEMAN Hon. F.R.S.A. (With Map and 84 Illustrations.) In sheets, folded, 5s.
1895—"The Annals of Clonmacnois." Edited by the Rev. DENIS MURPHY, S.J., LL.D., M.R.I.A. In sheets, folded, 7s. 6d.
1897—"The Register of the Diocese of Dublin in the times of Archbishop Tregury and Walton, A.D. 1467-1483." Edited by H. F. BERRY, M.A. Paper, 10s.
1901—"The Index to the First Nineteen Volumes of the *Journal* for the years 1849-1889, inclusive." Complete in Three Parts. Paper; 10s. 6d.
1908—"Memorial Slabs of Clonmacnois." By R. A. STEWART MACALISTER, LL.D., F.S.A., M.R.I.A. (With Illustrations.) Cloth, 10s.
1915—"Index to the *Journal*, Vols. XXI.-XL, 1890-1-1910." By GENERAL STUBBS and W. COTTER STUBBS, M.R.I.A. Paper, 10s. 6d.; Cloth, 12s. 6d.
1916—"The Gormanston Register." Edited by JAMES MILLS, I.S.O., M.R.I.A., and M. J. McENERY, M.R.I.A. Cloth, 10s.
1923—"Advertisements for Ireland," being a description of Ireland in the reign of James I., contained in a manuscript in Trinity College, Dublin. Edited by GEO. O'BRIEN, LITT.D. Price 6s.
1926—"Carved Ornament from Irish Monuments." By H. S. CRAWFORD, M.R.I.A., Published by Subscription 15s.; to fellows 12s.
1930—"Court Book of the Liberty of St. Sepulchre." Edited by HERBERT WOOD, B.A., M.R.I.A., Fellow. Price 7s. 6d.; to members 5s.
1933—"Index to the *Journal*, Vols. XLI to LX, 1911 to 1930." Paper, 10s. 6d.; Cloth, 13s.
1938—"Cahercommann: A Stone Fort in Co. Clare, By H. O'Neill Hencken, D. Litt., F.S.A., M.R.I.A. Paper, 5s.; to members 4s.

The following of the Society's Handbooks and Guides can also be had:—
Islands and Coasts of Ireland (in Buckram) 3s. 6d.
Western Islands of Scotland, Orkney and Caithness (1900). Price 2s. 6d.
Antiquities of Limerick and Neighbourhood (in cloth) 4s. 6d.
Waterford, Isle of Man Is. each.
Hanging Bowls. By Françoise Henry. Price 2s. 6d.
The Battle of Clontarf. By the Rev. John Ryan, S.J., D. Litt. Price 2s. 6d.
Some Irish Altar Plate. By J. J. Buckley. Boards, 21s.

Annual Subscription—Members, £1; Fellows, £2.

Papers intended to be printed in the *Journal* are required to be submitted by Contributor in type-written form.

THE JOURNAL
OF THE
ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES
OF IRELAND

SERIES SEVEN. VOL. FOURTEEN

VOL. LXXIV

PART III



30 SEPTEMBER 1944

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THE
Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland

(Formerly the Kilkenny Archaeological Association, and the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland)

63 MERRION SQUARE, DUBLIN

List of the Volumes of the Journal, showing the relation between the Consecutive Numbers and the Numbers of each of the Seven Series ; also the Years for which each Volume was issued.

Consecutive Number	Number of Series	Years	Consecutive Number	Number of Series	Years
I.	I.	1849, 1850, 1851	XXXVI.	XVI. 6th Series	1906 1907
II.	II.	1852, 1853	XXXVII.	XVII.	" .
III.	III.	1854, 1855	XXXVIII.	XVIII.	" .
IV.	I. 2nd Series	1856, 1857	XXXIX.	XIX.	" .
V.	II.	1858, 1859	XL.	XX.	" .
VI.	III.	1860, 1861	XLI.	I. 6th Series	1910 1911
VII.	IV.	1862, 1863	XLII.	II.	" .
VIII.	V.	1864, 1865, 1866	XLIV.	III.	" .
IX.	VI.	1867	XLV.	IV.	" .
X.	I. 3rd Series	1868, 1869	XLVI.	V.	" .
XI.	I. 4th Series	1870, 1871	XLVII.	VI.	" .
XII.	II.	1872, 1873	XLIX.	VII.	" .
XIII.	III.	1874, 1875	L.	VIII.	" .
XIV.	IV.	1876, 1877, 1878	L.I.	IX.	" .
XV.	V.	1879, 1880, 1881, 1882	L.II.	X.	" .
XVI.	VI.	1883, 1884	L.IV.	XI.	" .
XVII.	VII.	1885, 1886	LV.	XII.	" .
XVIII.	VIII.	1887, 1888	LVI.	XIII.	" .
XIX.	IX.	1889	LVII.	XIV.	" .
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THE MANOR OF BOTHERCOLYN.

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BOTHERCOLYN was the name of a farm or manor not far from Dublin. It was once quite well known, but was forgotten in later times. It is important to locate the place as exactly as possible, as a preliminary to the study of the history of the south-western part of County Dublin and of the adjoining districts. This, however, involves a search through a number of confusing records, full of obsolete place-names, and takes one much further than would at first seem necessary; in fact one has to investigate the history of most of the south part of Tallaght parish... In the following paper I have attempted to identify Bothercolyn and several of the other obsolete names in the neighbourhood. I give a list of references at the end, with the spellings of the names as they occur in each entry.

The name Bothercolyn occurs, in various forms, in a great many documents of the Anglo-Norman period and later. Until the middle of the 14th century the place was part of the King's demesne lands, and the names of places with which it was associated show that it was in the district near Dublin which the King reserved

as Crown property when the grant of Leinster was made to Strongbow, and later to William, Earl Marshal.¹

Earl Richard (Strongbow) granted part of this district, amounting to four carucates, under the names of Tachhonicde, Chilmechetda, Balimelise and Clohlun, to Walter de Ridelesford. Later the Crown called for an inspection of de Ridelesford's charter, and the lands were resumed (in whole or in part) into the King's hand. In 1220, 1226 and 1228 de Ridelesford was authorised to hold them during pleasure, but they were finally released to the Crown in 1280 by Christiana de Mariscis, one of the heiresses among whom his property was divided. An account for the year 1284 deals with the King's rents out of them.

We can identify Balimelise as the present Ballymaice, and, as Mr. Mills says, it probably included Ballinasorney. Tachhonicde was later called Stagonny or Tagony : Mr. Mills could not identify it, but Mr. Liam Ua Broin, who has made a special study of the area, has pointed out to me that a place called Tygunny appears on Duncan's map of Co. Dublin (1821), north-east of Oldcourt House, and is named in a Dublin Grand Jury presentment of 1808 which deals with that locality ; he has heard the steepest part of the road which leads up from Oldcourt to Orlagh called 'Gunny Hill' and 'the Gunny.' This is evidently the same name as the old Stagonny. Clohlun of the charter is identified by later records as Knocklyon. Chilmeecheta is either Killakee (as Mr. Mills tentatively suggests) or perhaps Kilmashogue ; but we need not here concern ourselves with it.

These four names no doubt included a number of places not specifically mentioned ; later records, in particular the account of 1284, show, for instance, that Killininny and Bohernabreene were also part of the lands held by de Ridelesford and afterwards taken back into the King's hands.

This grant thus included territory extending from Ballinasorney in the west as far, at least, as Knocklyon in the east. But the King's demesne included more of Tallaght parish ; a grant dated 1218 to Thomas fitzAdam for his maintenance names, among other places, Stagdnanevin and Lissekelly : the latter is the place called Lessenkeil in the Pipe Roll of 1211/12 (xiv John). Both were in this area, and they are named in a number of early records. Bothercolyn, which Mr. Mills suggests may have been part of the present townland of Oldbawn, was not included by name in either of these

¹ Alen's Reg., f. 455-6 (A²) : Mills in J.R.S.A.I. xxiv (1894) p. 161 and p. 171 : Orpen, Ireland under the Normans, ii 217.

grants, but it is named separately as part of the King's lands from 1280 onwards.

Fifty years later a perpetual grant of a large part of these lands was made, subject to a Crown rent. A copy of the deed, dated 1332/3, is preserved in Archbishop Alen's Register: it contains a grant from the King of 760 acres (elsewhere called 6 caravates) to Elias Ayshburne and his heirs for ever. The lands are named as Killynyn, Brune, Staghnamoyn, Lesnekylle, Staghecony, Killowan and Bothirecolyn in the march of Leinster. This list of names appears in several later deeds; I hope to be able to identify each of them.

There can be no doubt, at least, about Killynyn: it is the present Killinenny. Brune, as other records show, is Boherabreena, and these, with Staghecony, formed part of the lands granted by Strongbow to de Ridellesford. Boherabreena was at first the name of an area larger than the present townland: a Fiant of 1542, taken in conjunction with the Down Survey documents, shows that it included the present townland of Friarstown. The Fiant contains a grant to Thomas Luttrell of "the lands of Brewyn alias Bohirnybrynee, near Glaschymoky, parcel of the possessions of the late house of Friars Minors of Dublin." Fryerstowne appears in the list of forfeited lands in the Book of Survey and Distribution, Simon Lutterell being named as the proprietor in 1641, while the Barony Map shows that the present townland of Boherabreena was unforfeited, I cannot say whether Ayshburne's grant included Friarstown or not, as there is no record to show when the townland was divided; but it is said that King Henry III founded the Franciscan house in Dublin,² and if, as is possible, he granted them this land as an endowment, the division would be as old as the 13th century.

The name Staghecony, as I have said, survived into the nineteenth century in the form Tygunny, shown on the map near Oldcourt House. It was, I think, the old name of Oldcourt; the latter name is not recorded, as far as I know, before 1547, when it occurs with Tagony in the St. Patrick's Inquisition. The two names also occur in the Book of Survey and Distribution, which gives the acreage of Stagony as 60 acres, and of Oldcourt as 160 acres. We know that Stagony was divided in early times, for the account of 1284 includes separate rents out of Great Thachoni and Little Thachoni. In 1287 Walter de Bodenham held land at Tathconny,³ but a Christ Church deed of Henry VI's time speaks of

² Sweetman, C.D.I. ii 872, 4th June, 1270.

³ Sweetman, C.D.I. iii p. 144.

Bodenham's land 'near Stacony'⁴: this suggests that perhaps by that time part of Stacony was known by another name. I suggest that the explanation of these entries is that the old division of Great Stagony was given the name of Oldcourt in the 15th or early 16th century, the old name being preserved up to recent times for Little Stagony. Almost all the early records relating to Stagony deal also with Killinanny, which adjoins Oldcourt on the east.

Staghnamoyn and Lesnekylle are the same as the places named in the grant of 1218 to FitzAdam. They nearly always appear together in the records. The name Staghnamoyn, which is variously spelled, Staghawyn, Staghnevin, etc., has disappeared, but Mr. Ua Broin has again come to my help here. He has noted that a place called Staghnavan alias Staghnawayn is named in a number of 18th century deeds. These relate to the Bulkeley property at Oldbawn, and show that Staghnavan was regarded as part of the Oldbawn estate. I will deal with the name more fully in a moment; the important point here is that the place was somewhere near Oldbawn, and as it and Lissekylly are constantly named together, it is likely that Lissekylly is also to be looked for in the Oldbawn neighbourhood. Now the entry in the Pipe Roll of 1211/12 shows that Lessenkeil was an important place, ranking with the manors of Crumlin and Saggart. Close examination of the records shows that the name Lesnekylle appears in various forms, Lesenkelli, Lessenkill, Lisnekill, etc., in documents of the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries; but it is not in the list of Tallaght tithes in the St. Patrick's Inquisition of 1547. I have not found it in any 16th century documents; it appears in a couple of the 17th century entries concerning Oldbawn, but soon drops out. Now the name Oldbawn first appears in the 1547 list of tithes; the name suggests the existence of an old enclosure, but we are not told what the older name was. I suggest that Oldbawn was the same place as Lissekylly, and that the old name, included at first in the 17th century grants, was soon dropped, so that it does not appear in the 18th century deeds, which call the place Old Bawne alias Shanbawne.

Killowan is the present townland of Kiltalown: the Bulkeley estate deeds call it Killowan alias Kiltalowan. And these deeds also identify Bothireolyn; for included in the estate is a place called 'Boghercullen alias Bolnemanagh,' and this is the present

⁴ 24th Report of Deputy Keeper, appendix, p. 101. Note that the editor, adding to the confusion, identifies Stacony here with Stacumney, Co. Kildare: but the deed describes it as in Co. Dublin, and the entries in C.D.I. about de Bodenham seem to make the true identification clear.

townland of Ballymana, which adjoins Oldbawn on the south-west. Bothercolyn was therefore the old name of Ballymana.

Some earlier entries support these identifications. One Peter of Ballymore, as executor of Laurence Cosyn, paid the rent of Bothercolyn between 1280 and 1289, and in 1281 the payment is described as "arrears of rent of Bothercolyn and Lyskoyl." It seems almost certain that this is merely another spelling of Lisnekelly. Again in 1290 Laurence Cosyn's son asked for a grant of his father's land in Bothercolyn and a mill in Tachnavemy⁶: the latter place is called "Stagneney with the mill" in 1228: I think we can safely identify it with Staghnamoyn. So Cosyn's farm would have included Ballymana and Oldbawn and some part of the place called Staghnamoyn. And another document, a grant by Archbishop Fulk, dated c. 1260⁷, gives the boundaries of Kiltipper as Lisnekelly on the west and Bothull Colon on the north. Oldbawn bounds Kiltipper on the north, and Ballymana on the west; if my identifications are correct, the points of the compass are wrongly given in the grant, but this sometimes occurs in these old deeds.

If I have located them correctly so far, Ayshburne's lands stretched continuously from Oldcourt in the east to Kiltalown in the west. But the townland of Killinardan, which lies between Oldbawn and Kiltalown, is not mentioned, at least not by this name, of which I have found no record before the St. Patrick's Inquisition of 1547. Killinardan is shown on the Down Survey Map, the area being much the same as it is now. It was granted in Henry VIII's time to Robert Talbott, and the proprietor in 1641 was his descendant Adam Talbott. It is named in a grant to Sir William Parsons, dated 1621, but does not appear among Parsons' lands in the Book of Survey. It was not part of the Bulkeley's Oldbawn property; in 1802, according to an estate map in the National Library, it belonged to the owners of Ballinascorney.

We have seen, however, that Staghnavan (that is, the Staghnamoyn of Ayshburne's deed) was included in the Bulkeley estate. Names beginning with Stagh- (for *teach*) occur in the eastern counties, and usually denote churches: e.g., Stahgori (Palmerston), Stachlorcan (Stillorgan). The name Staghnamoyn, like Killinardan, therefore suggests the existence of a church, but I have found no reference to a church here. There was however somewhere in Leinster a church with an Irish name, *tech mac Neamhain*,⁷ and such a name

⁶ Sweetman, C.D.I. iii p. 307.

⁷ Onom. Goed, p. 624, referring to Colgan. I do not suggest that the place mentioned by Colgan was the same as Killinardan: I only quote the name to show that it is a possible one for a church.

⁶ Alen's Register, f. 152b.

would normally be corrupted into something like Staghnavan ; we would expect anglicised forms like Staghnavyn (1441), Staghnavyn (1537), Staghnevyn (1609) and Staghknevan (1620). We can therefore deduce from the name the existence of an old church with a name like *tech mac Neamhair*. Now it would be natural, when the old name ceased to be familiar, for the local people to refer to the site as the ‘*cillín*’ ; if then Killinardan represents *cillin ardáin* (or *cill an ardáin*, as the name is written in the *Leabhar Branach*), it is not very far-fetched to suggest that the site to which it refers is Staghnavyn, which was somewhere in the vicinity. The mention of “Stagneneny with the mill” in 1290 at first seems to create a difficulty ; but there is a small stream running beside Killinardan House, and this may in early times have been used to turn a small mill. Actually there is (so Mr. Ua Broin tells me) on the boundary between Killinardan and Ballymana a small area of raised ground which according to local tradition was a graveyard.

All this shows that it is reasonable to conclude that the old name of Killinardan was Staghnavan, or Staghnamoyn as it is spelled in the Ayshburne deed. The uncertainty about the name would account for the grant to Robert Talbott. Frequent references to lands “concealed from the King” show that there was often much confusion about the new grants of land that were made in Tudor times and later. It must have been as a result of the change of name that this townland was lost out of the Bulkeley property, in spite of the old name being preserved in their title deeds, and in some of the grants to the Nugents, their predecessors in title.

All the places named in the grant of 1332/3 have now been identified, at least with considerable probability. Elias Ayshburne’s son sold the lands to Robert Holiwode, according to another deed, a copy of which has been preserved in Alen’s Register ; the date given is 1358. The names, with variations of spelling, are the same as in the deed of 1332/3.

As regards Bothercolyn, Mr. Ua Broin has given me some more information which may show how far it extended. He called my attention to two Estate maps in the Longfield collection in the National Library. One is undated (early 19th century) : it shows an area which corresponds to the present townland of Lugmore, with field divisions and areas ; with it is a list of the tenants of these divisions, headed “Boherloan and pt. of Logmore.” The other is a map dated 1784 headed “Gibbons, Alisbanes⁸ and Jobstown” ;

⁸ This is evidently the name which is written Salesbano in an undated

actually it is a map of the present townland of Gibbons. "Borealone" is marked on it outside the western boundary of Gibbons, where a part of Corbally townland extends to the north. Mr. Ua Broin tells me that the fields lying here on the north side of the road are known by this name. I think this must be a corrupt recollection of the name Bothercolyn. It may be objected that Borealone could not be the equivalent of Bothercolyn; but the old forms of the name show that the corruption is quite possible—e.g., Bothercloyn, 1358 (misprinted Gothircloyn): Burgholon, 1547: Burcholone, 1569: Burgallon, 1660: Brothorcoylen, 1716.

Mr. Henry Morris, writing about the name Bothercolyn in 1938,⁹ concluded that the place called Bothar Cualann in a passage in McFirbis's Genealogies, fol. 840b, was in north Co. Dublin, but he had been misled by his assumption that all the places named by McFirbis were in the neighbourhood of Artaine. McFirbis, using a document that has been lost, gives the names of the lands which formed the dowry of Elizabeth Hollywood, daughter of Sir Robert Hollywood of Artaine, on her marriage to James Nugent (died c. 1450), son of the 10th Baron of Delvin. As Mr. Morris says, McFirbis found the names in their English form, and tried to restore the Irish originals; he was not very successful, as is shown by the form *Dún dá Bhád* which he gives for Donabate; the first part of this name was really *domhnach*.¹⁰ Sir Robert Hollywood was one of three or four prominent men who purchased the de Verdon or Furnival lands in the early fifteenth century;¹¹ these included lands in Louth, Meath and Westmeath, so there is no reason to think that the property given to his daughter as dowry was all near Artaine. We have seen that a member of his family purchased Ayshburne's lands, including Bothercolyn, in 1358; and there is an entry, dated 1467/8, in the Statute Rolls of Edward IV, which mentions a grant made to Margaret or Elizabeth Holywod, or either of them, in discharge of a yearly rent issuing out of lands in Killeny, Bourñ, and Bothurelyñ lying waste in the marches of Dublin. Clearly McFirbis's Bothar Cualann refers to this place, and not to any place in north Co. Dublin. Probably a search of records of lands belonging to the Nugent family from 1450 onwards would identify most of the places named by McFirbis; for instance, the Castle of the Crans is named in a Nugent deed of 1586: Sgillinglass

Fiant, *tempore* Henry VIII, no. 526, and Salesbawne in the grant of 1621 to Sir William Parsons. It seems to correspond to the present townland of Gibbons, or to part of it.

⁹ The Slighe Cualann, J.R.A.S.I. lxvii, p. 113.

¹⁰ Onom. Goed., p. 349.

¹¹ Book of Howth, Carew Calendar, p. 220: J.R.S.A.I. xxv (1895) p. 325.

(now Artaine Domville), Stacoll, Cloghran-Swords and Corbally in Donabate parish occur several times : An Cuirr' and Ratho ele may be Curragh and Rath near Naul : Olabard Ratho is, as Mr. Morris suggests, probably Hollywoodrath, which belonged to Lavallin Nugent : while Na Cearna and Na Buailte are probably Westkernes, Eastkernes and Little Bolies, now in Duleek parish, Co. Meath.¹²

Bothercolyn thus belonged to the Barons of Delvin in the fifteenth century. Members of the Nugent family again appear as owners of it and neighbouring lands (Oldbawn, Kiltalown, etc.) between 1584 and 1620. John Burnell, who was executed in 1535 for taking part in the Kildare rebellion, apparently owned them in the early 16th century ; his property was forfeited, and several grants of it are recorded including Killinanny, Bohercolyn, etc. How he came into possession of Nugent (or Hollywood) land does not appear. An entry of 1537, naming Richard Burnell and Gerald Nugent as farmers of Killeneuen, Staghavyn and Burcolyn, ancient possessions of the King, suggests perhaps some kind of joint ownership ; but Sir Robert Burnell had been Sheriff of Co. Dublin, and another John Burnell had been Seneschal of the King's lands in 1459,¹³ so that the Burnells must have had good opportunities of acquiring land towards the end of the 15th century. Later the Nugents sold Oldbawn, etc., to Thomas Loftus, Archbishop of Dublin, and his son Sir Dudley Loftus held Killinanny, Stagonny, etc., from the King in 1617. The Bulkeleys acquired the Oldbawn estate before 1641, but Sir Adam Loftus, son of Sir Dudley, retained the other lands ; they adjoined his Manor of Rathfarnham. According to the Book of Survey and Distribution, Loftus held Stagony, Knocklyne and "Ballynaheene," Killinany and Old Court, while Bulkeley's lands are called Old Bawne, Ballymonagh, and Kiltallon. Thus it will be seen that by 1641 most of the old names had fallen out of use, at least as descriptions of townlands.

The name Bohercolyn had been supplanted by Ballymonagh, which is now spelled Ballymanagh on the Ordnance Survey maps : it appears as Ballymannagh on a Longfield Estate map of 1802. The 18th century deeds give a more correct form, Bolenemanagh : clearly the name represents *buaille na manach*, 'the monks summer

¹² See C.P.R. Jas. I, pp. 205, 231, 255, and for Carnes and Boolies Little, Fiants Elizabeth 311, 4575, and C.P.R. Jas. I, pp. 205, 283. Stacoll is constantly mentioned in conjunction with Bohercolen, but in this case the juxtaposition is due to the fact that both were treated as forfeited lands belonging to John Burnell.

¹³ Statute Rolls, Henry VI, p. 627.

milking place.¹⁴ The monks must have been the Franciscans, who owned Friarstown, just across the Dodder; so the present townland name is of much more recent origin than the old name of Bothercolyn.

This seems to have also survived in the form Boherloan or Borealone, as I have already said, and we can, therefore, trace the name Bothercolyn in three different places: in Ballymana, then a mile or so to the west in Lugmore, and again about a mile further to the north-west, close to the boundary of Saggart parish. The conclusion that I would draw from this is that the King's farm of Bothercolyn comprised the higher part of the northern slopes of Tallaght Hill, stretching as far as the Saggart parish boundary, and including the townlands of Lugmore, Corbally and part of Gibbons. This would agree with an entry in the Pipe Roll of 1337/8 which calls it "an external rent of the manor of Tassagard." And perhaps the name Corbally offers a confirmatory detail: it has usually some such meaning as 'the townland that juts out'; here it would mean 'the townland on the far side of the hill' from the head-farm in Ballymana; the farm at the site of Johnville House (in Corbally) seems to be the only important one on the west side of the hill.

But the name Bothercolyn, commencing as it does with the word *bóthar*, though used to designate a farm or district in Anglo-Norman times, must originally have been applied to a road. Presumably the road ran through this district, but it is not easy to trace it. The roads here have changed very much in the course of centuries. Rocque's map (1765) shows that the direct road from Saggart to Oldcourt then ran through Boherboy, past Johnville House in Corbally, through Kiltalown and Killinardan, and along the northern boundary of Ballymana and Kiltipper, to the ford over the Dodder between Oldbawn and Bohernabreecna. Most of this is still a public road. But it looks as if an older road ran higher up the hill, through the middle of Corbally and Lugmore and across the hill to the road which leads past the ruin of Ballymana House and so down to where the ford was. The old lane running across Lugmore townland may be a remnant of it, and this may have been the track of the *bóthar* as it existed in Anglo-Norman times. There are, however, some grounds for believing that this road went in earlier times from the upper part of Killinardan

¹⁴ It is written *Buaile Mheadhonagh* in the *Leabhar Branach*, but we cannot rely on the forms of the place-names given in the particular poem, some of which are certainly wrong; it is evident that the author sometimes did not know the old names, and simply guessed at the Irish form.

south-eastwards to Ballymaice, making for some crossing place higher up the Dodder than the Oldbawn ford.

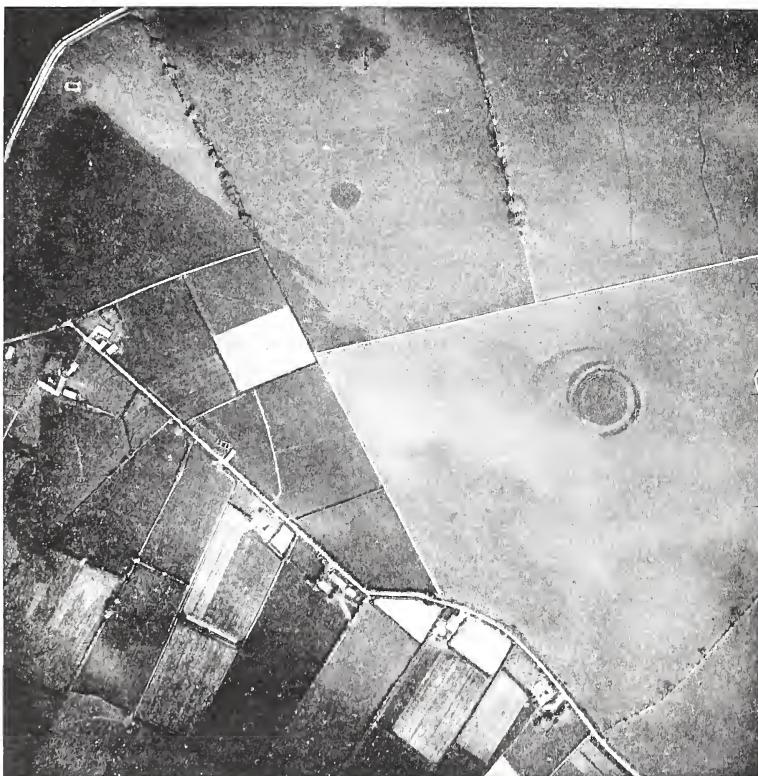
To summarize what I have said above : Bothercolyn in the early Anglo-Norman period designated a farm belonging to the King, which appears to have comprised much of the northern side of Tallaght Hill from Corbally on the boundary of Saggart parish to Ballymana, and probably also some part of the townland of Oldbawn. This is as far as it is necessary to pursue the subject for the moment, but some of the place-names here discussed will certainly be useful when we come to make a detailed investigation of the history of the district in earlier times.

List of references, with the relevant place-names as spelled in each.

- 1171-6. Rot. Cane. Hib. p. 4. Tachchomtdera, Chilmethetda, Balimelise, Clohbin (these are spelled by Mills : Tachhoniede, Chilmechetda, Balimelise, Clohlun).
- 1211/12. Pipe Roll, xiv John (Ulster Journal, iv (1941) p. 11). Lessenkeil.
- 1213 Sweetman C.D.I. i p. 76. Kilmacchoze, Kilmenen, Knoeflin, Tachony, Balifargel, Baliculen, Balimochan.
- 1218. *ibid.* p. 124. Stagdnamevin, Lissekelly, Ballionenny, Staghegram.
- 1220. *ibid.* p. 147. Lissekilli, Ballionenny, Statgrum.
- 1226. *ibid.* p. 211. Kilmakech, Kilncnien, Tascony, Cnocfin.
- 1228. *ibid.* p. 246. Talkony, Kylmakeche, Kallenigen, Clonhliny.
- 1228. Pipe Roll, 35th Rep. D.K.R. Stagneneny with the mill, Lesenkelli, Staggrum, Killuncene.
- 1234. Sweetman C.D.I. i p. 326. Theachkony, Kilmacehe, Kilminen.
- c. 1260. A.R. f. 152b. Kyltypper, Balmacaght, Lisnekellyth, Bothull Colon, Aylephukyn.
- 1281. Sweetman C.D.I. ii p. 377. Kylleymen, Kilmatheh, Baliculan, Little Tattom, Brun and Balimolys.
- 1281. *ibid.* p. 391. Botherelyn and Lyskoyl.
- 1284. *ibid.* p. 561. Killiney [read Killeny ?], little Thachoni, Balimolis, Great Thachoni, Kylmakethe, Balaelich.
- 1280 to 1298. Sweetman C.D.I. ii, iii, iv, *passim*. Bothercolyn (Botherolen, Bothirecolyn, Bothercolin).
- 1287. *ibid.* iii p. 144. Tathconny : p. 149, Stathcony.
- 1290. *ibid.* p. 298. Knoklyn.

1290. *ibid.* p. 307. Bothercolyn, Tachnavemey.
- 1304/5. Pipe Roll, 38th Rep. D.K.R. Killinin, Brun, Takony.
- 1332/3. A.R. f. 32(A²). Killynin, Brune, Staghnamoyn, Lesnekylle, Stagheony, Killowan, Bothircolyn.
- 1337/8. Pipe Roll, 45th Rep. D.K.R. Bothercolyn.
1358. Rot. Cane. Hib. p. 73. Killynyn, Grune [read Brune], Stag Huanny, Clysnekill, Stagheony, Killowan, Gothir-cloyn [read Bothircloyn].
1366. A.R. f. 466 (A²). le Brunesbotyr, Killohane, Staghananwyn, Bothircolon, Lysnekyll, Killenyn, Tagheumny.
- 1413/22. Christ Ch. Deeds, 24th Rep. D.K.R. Staconomy. *temp.* Henry VI *ibid.* Staconomy, Bodenhanie's land.
1441. Rot. Canc. Hib. p. 264. Killynyn, Bruyn, Staghnavwyn, Lessenkill, Stagheony, Killowan, Bochircolyn.
- 1467/8. Stat. Rolls Edward IV, p. 553. Kyllenyñ, Bourñ, Bothur-colyñ.
1537. Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Hen. VIII, xii pt. 2. Killeneven, Staghuvyn [read Staghnavyn], Burcelyn.
1542. Fiant Henry VIII, 315. Brewn alias Bohirnybrynee.
1542. *ibid.*, 324. Brune alias Borbrune. *temp.* Henry VIII, undated Fiant, 526. Corbali, Salesbane, Kilardan, Fyngowre, Birrawgħt, Balmalice.
1547. Inquisition 28 Jan. 1547 (Mason's History of St. Patrick's, pp. 31, 79). Oldbawne, Ballyloghan, Burghullon, Kilnædyn, Kiltipper, Ballmalyffe [read Balmallyssel], Corbally, Killowan, Ballycullyan, Ballycraghe, Kyllynnyn, Knockelyn, Ballycreaghyn, Old Court, Tagony, Ballmalyse, the Freres-land.
1547. Fiant Edw. VI. 80. Oldbawne, Ballyloghan, Kylinardin, Kyltipper, Burgholon, Glanego, Corbally, Kyllowan, Ballycullyan, Ballycrathe, Kyllynnym.
1552. *ibid.* 999. Burquoline.
1552. *ibid.* 1097. Borecoyllen.
1558. Fiant Philip and Mary, 249. Kyllenenen, Burgholon, Knocklyne, Stagonye.
1569. Fiant Eliz., 1328. Killenenen, Burcholone, Knocklyne, Stagonye.
1575. *ibid.* 2598. Borgholen.
1577. *ibid.* 3126. Killynenyn, Knocklyne, Stagonye.
1583. *ibid.* 4129. Ballicrean alias Ballicraghe.
1583. *ibid.* 4177. Ballycrean alias Ballycragh.
1584. *ibid.* 4516. Bohercolen, Oldbawon.

1585. *ibid.* 4575. Killenenan alias Killenynen, Cnockelyne, Stagonny.
1605. Cal. Pat. Rolls, Jas. I, p. 40. Killynny, Stagoni, Oldcourte, Ballicredan otherwise Ballicreagh.
1609. *ibid.* Clonagh [?], Killowan, Staghnevin, Lisnekill, Oldbane.
1610. *ibid.* p. 169. Burghollen or Burghalen.
1611. *ibid.* p. 198. Killowan, Staghnevin, Lisnekill, Oldbawne.
1613. *ibid.* p. 283. Oldbawen, Loughanston, Sarecolme [read Borecolene ?], Killoughan.
1617. Chanc. Inqu. Dublin, 29 Jas. I. Oldbaon, Begereollen, Tesnavan, Kiltabogan juxta Jobston.
1617. Chanc. Inqu. Dublin, 33 Jas. I. le Owlde Courte, Killenanen al' Kilenyne, Knocklyne, Stagonney, Ballyrian al' Ballyrowan, Knocklyn.
1619. Cal. Pat. Rolls, Jas. I. p. 422. Oldecourt, Killenanen otherwise Killenynan, Stagonny, Knocklyne.
1620. Chanc. Inqu. Dublin, 41 Jas. I. Borcolen, Oldbawne, Seaghknevan [read Stagh-], Rillelowan [read Kill-].
1621. Cal. Pat. Rolls, Jas. I. p. 526. Carbally alias Corballis near Tarsegard, Salesbawne, Fingowre, Killardan, Byrraght, Ballmallace.
1624. Chanc. Inqu. Dublin, 60 Jas. I. Borecoolin (Borchoolin al' Purquullen).
1660. List of Tallaght parish tithes (Mason's St. Patrick's, p. 32 n.) Oldbawn, Ballilaghan, Burgallon, Killardin, Kiltipper, Ballmaliffe [read Ballmalisse], Corbally, Kiltalowen Ballicullen, Ballicragh, Killeninin.



Air photograph of an area on the northern side of Carnbane, which is one of the hills of the Loughcrew group near Oldcastle, Co. Meath. It is a vertical photograph and its topographical value is at once obvious. Towards the right centre of the picture an earthen ring-fort with bank and ditch can be seen, and outside it, on the section furthest from the entrance to the fort, a discolouration may be discerned indicating the presence of another ditch, which is now filled up and invisible on the surface. The small rectangular structure seen in the upper left corner is associated with Blessed Oliver Plunkett.

AIR PHOTOGRAPHY AND ARCHAEOLOGY.

By JOSEPH Raftery, *Member.*

SCIENTIFIC archaeology may be considered to be one of the youngest of all branches of human knowledge ; and it has not scrupled to use all the available means to further its chief end—the reconstruction from the material things he has left behind of the life of man in the past. One of the most important aids to archaeological research, and particularly to that aspect of it associated with the surveying of the monuments in the field, is photography from the air. This is of tremendous importance because so much more can be seen from a height than from the ground level.

The aeroplane is a very modern invention but its exploitation for archaeological purposes was initiated only a very few years after planes became at all common. The first use of the aeroplane in the services of field archaeology was in the form of reconnaissance and observation from the pilot's cockpit. This form of reporting was already in use by French flying officers in 1915, who discovered new field monuments in the neighbourhood of Salonika. The first to appreciate the value of actual photography from the air was the German Theodor Wiegand, who worked first in Rumania, and afterwards, until 1918, in Syria. Contemporary with Wiegand the archaeologists Georg Karo and Friedrich Sarre worked in Asia Minor, while Colonel Beazley of the R.F.C. made some important discoveries through air photographs of the area around Samarra on the Tigris.

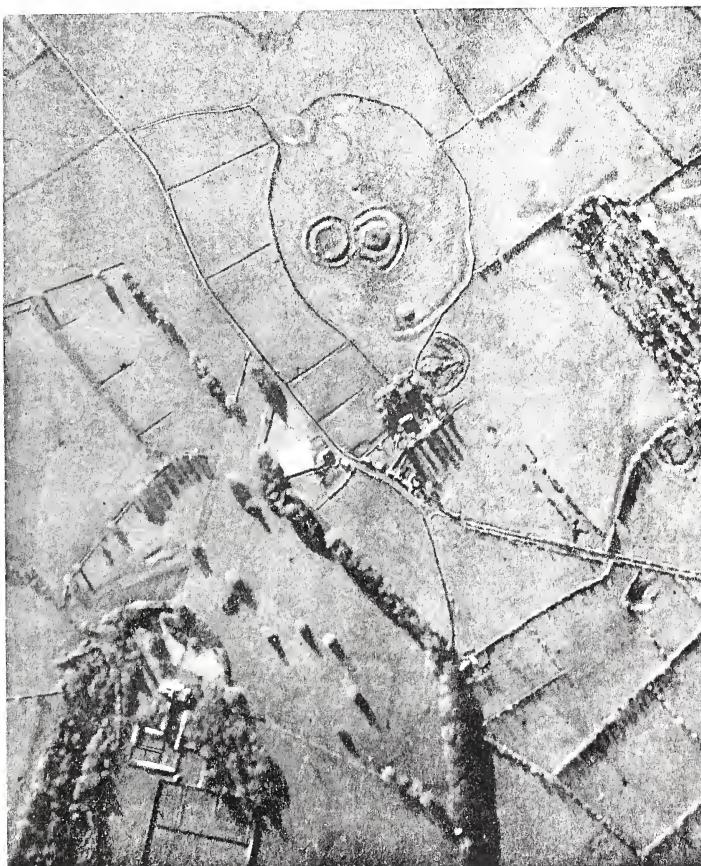
Several works on the subject had been published with illustrations by the Germans, and immediately after the war the work was taken up by the French Poidebard, a former Jesuit, who had worked in Syria as an observer. But to O.G.S. Crawford, now Archaeological Officer to the British Ordnance Survey at Southampton, more than to anyone else do we owe the great development in the technique of photographing from the air for archaeological purposes. Ably helped by Major G. W. Allen and Alexander Keiller he was responsible for the air photography of countless sites in England and for the discovery by this means of many new and important sites which had hitherto been unsuspected, such as for example those

of the 'henge' group of monuments which formerly had wooden rather than stone uprights.* Crawford's own words on the subject are of interest and I give them here in translation from *Luftbild und Vorgeschichte*, in which he wrote in 1938 :

Since 1922 it (air photography) has provided for archaeology a means of research as valuable as the telescope for the astronomer. For the development of this new technique England found herself in a particularly fortunate position, because for historic reasons there are in many parts of England large areas which are to-day free of woods and which have never been cultivated since prehistoric times. Thus field monuments even of the most ancient times are preserved in such numbers and such good condition as scarcely anywhere else. It is these circumstances that we must thank for the original planned development of air photography in England as an independent branch of research. From clearly visible monuments to the discovery of those hidden beneath the surface of the earth was but a step.

A considerable amount of air photography of ancient sites was undertaken in the post-war years in France, but the method does not appear to have been developed to any great extent there. In Switzerland occasional work was carried out by Walter Mittelholzer, while the German Luftwaffe and certain private and commercial interests contributed to the work in Germany.

In Ireland as far back as 1929 and 1930 private planes were being used as in the War years for the photography from the air by means of the hand camera held over the side of the machine. But it was not until about 1934, when thanks to the adaptation of the Government Scheme for the Relief of Unemployment to archaeological purposes large-scale excavations became possible, that the Army Air Force was asked to co-operate in the work. Since then a considerable amount has been done by the Irish Air Force, but the requests have been only sporadic, and air photography for archaeological purposes is still only in the experimental stage in this country. It is to be hoped that in the post-war period Air Force authorities and archaeological personnel will combine to plan proper collaboration in the surveying of the many important archaeological sites all over this country. For only by such planned co-operation can any valuable results be obtained ; the archaeologist must know and appreciate the limitations and difficulties of the airmen, while on the other hand the air photographer must have a clear idea as to what the archaeologist really wants. There is more to the matter than the simple provision of an air photograph



View of Tara, Co. Meath, taken vertically from the air. A much better idea of the general plan of the site is obtained than is possible from the ground. The great rath forms the centre-piece of the picture while stretching obliquely from it, the long parallel lines of the Banqueting Hall are clearly visible.

of a particular site. Such things must be taken into consideration as the time of the day and of the year, the height of the sun, the presence or otherwise of ground water, the nature of the soil, the condition of weathering, the nature of the surrounding countryside, the presence or absence of such features as woods, the presence or absence of crops, and their nature if present. Under all the circumstances here mentioned it is possible to obtain a satisfactory air photograph, but it is only experience which will enable one to select those conditions which will give the best results for any particular area or monument.

There are three main types of sites for the air camera. These have been called by Crawford 'shadow sites,' 'crop sites' and 'soil marks,' the names indicating the means by which the sites are most clearly observed from the air. To the 'shadow sites' belong the greatest percentage of prehistoric field monuments which are still preserved above ground, such as burial mounds, banks and ditches, field fences and land divisions. Due to shadows being thrown by the sun either before or after it has reached its zenith all depressions or heights on the ground become clearly visible, and present a general plastic effect. By this means complicated earth-works and those of different periods which appear to be complicated can be easily followed, while banks and similar field marks, which are scarcely visible on the ground, are brought into sharp relief if seen from the air when the sun is very low. Thus, in a great many cases, it is extremely important that the photographs should be taken very early in the morning.

'Crop sites' are those all superficial traces of which have long since been removed in the course of agricultural or other operations and are mainly discerned from the air because certain crops grow better where the subsoil has been deeply stirred up by man and where the addition of organic matter due to his residing on a given spot enriches the soil. Thus there will be a stronger growth of barley or oats over the silted ditch of an earthen ring fort than elsewhere in the field, and this difference appears startlingly as a darker ring on the air photograph. It has also been established that corn resting on the foundation of a wall can best be photographed after a rain storm, as the corn grown over stony ground goes to straw and so resists the effects of the storm better than the rest of the crop and is not lodged.

'Soil marks' indicate sites where disturbance of the ground in early times has produced a chemical change in the composition of the earth, and from the air this can be clearly discerned by being sharply divided from the undisturbed soil. From this point of

view 'soil marks' and 'crop sites' are somewhat similar in their effect.

Objects and sites which are now covered by water can be photographed in similar manner from the air, though in this case perhaps more than for earth sites the height of the machine plays a very important part. So far the application of air photography to sites covered by sea or lake water has not been sufficiently exploited, but some interesting instances have been recorded of "drowned" towns being discovered and identified.

In making air photographs several factors must be taken into account, and each site must be treated individually. Most important will be the height from which the photograph is taken. Sometimes a very low altitude gives an excellent result, but often greater heights must be reached. On the other hand, if the height is too great all details vanish in a large panoramic illustration. An average height of about 1,000 metres gives general good results.

In addition the position of the plane with relation to the site and to the direction of the sun's rays must be taken into account. Vertical photographs are probably the best for all round purposes. These are obtained by flying directly parallel to the surface of the ground to be photographed, the plane at the moment of exposure being directly over the object it is desired to record. Other photographs may be obtained by flying obliquely at a considerable angle to the surface of the earth. Such photographs are of considerable value in open country, in that they give a rather better idea of the height of a given field monument in relation to its extent than do the vertical photographs; but steep inclines, buildings, woods and similar impediments render this method of oblique photography somewhat limited of application.

For general survey purposes and for the provision of plans of larger monuments, such as earthen ring forts, serial photographs are admirable. These are usually provided on the vertical as opposed to the oblique principle, and consist of a number of pictures taken one after the other in the direction of the aeroplane's flight. If such photographs are taken in pairs so that one overlaps about 50% to 60% of the other a stereoscopic photograph is produced. When viewed through a stereoscope the pictures acquire a plastic effect.

The question of the cameras used is exceedingly technical, and is more a matter for a photographic magazine than for this Journal, but it can be stated simply that many different makes of camera are in use. Most are built-in models, but in slow machines it is possible to make exposures from a hand-camera.

Photograph of the fine series of earthworks, of the graveyard, church and round tower of the early ecclesiastical site at Stair Kieran near Birr, Co. Offaly. This view was taken obliquely, thus allowing one to observe the relative heights above ground level of the various structures, a result not possible in a vertical photograph.



Air photography is an invaluable aid to the field archaeologist, and by its means such monuments as ancient road systems, buried fortifications and obscured burial places may be again recovered, while its application to water may allow further research, particularly in the distributional line, to be undertaken into the question of crannogs, toghers and causeways. It can also be indispensable to cartographers and geographers, and no opportunity should be lost in the future in applying the new method to the problems of Irish archaeology and allied subjects.*

*The photographs illustrating this paper are the copyright of the Stationery Office of Ireland and are reproduced by permission of the Minister for Defence of Ireland. They were taken by Irish Air Force officers.

IRISH AGRICULTURE IN EARLY HISTORIC TIMES.

By MICHAEL DUGNAN.

[Read 7th March, 1944.]

SOME four thousand years ago the first real agriculturists, the neolithic fisher-farmers of North-East Ulster, set foot in Ireland and began to supplant the mere food-gatherers, strandloopers and hunters of mesolithic times who had preceded them. Despite all that it has meant to Irish life and civilization ever since, Irish agriculture has yet to find its historian. Very little has ever been done in the way of special researches, while no comprehensive essay on the subject has appeared since the sadly out-moded and out-of-date efforts of the late P. W. Joyce¹ and the late James Wilson.²

In the course of the past twenty or thirty years very valuable additions have been made to the information available about the subject, but since they have all been incidental to other investigations they are commonly overlooked. Moreover, considerable though they are, they appear insignificant when compared with the problems that remain.

As recently as 1941 there appeared what is intended to be one of the standard works in English on the agrarian economy of Europe from late Roman times onwards, viz., the first volume of *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*.³ This great volume is crammed with the latest and most up-to-date information at the disposal of the erudite pens of a whole international galaxy of talent. It devotes considerable space and detail to the economy of most of the nations of Europe, Italy, Spain, Germany, Poland, Lithuania, Hungary, Russia, England, Scandinavia, France and

¹ *A Social History of Ancient Ireland*, 2 vols. 2nd ed. Dublin, 1913.² 'A biological survey of Clare Island . . .', Part 5, 'Agriculture and its history', *Proc. Roy. Ir. Acad.*, xxxi, Sect. 1, 1911-15.Correctives to some of Prof. Wilson's rasher opinions will be found in Dr. MacNeill's 'Place-names and family names', *ibid.* Pt. 3.³ *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe from the Decline of the Roman Empire*. Edited by J. H. Clapham and the late Eileen Power, Vol. I. *The Agrarian Life of the Middle Ages*. Cambridge University Press, 1941.

the Low Countries. Ireland receives but scant attention. A few of the relevant passages are worth quoting:

p. 51: '*In Wales, Scotland and Ireland the land was divided among clans and septs, each under the strict patriarchal rule of its chieftain. The groups of cousins into which they were sub-divided . . . were also groups of settlement. The families of a group either shared great common dwellings, or lived close together in little hamlets, except when—as notably in the Scottish Highlands—they were scattered in separate homesteads over the whole territory of the clan. The land of each clan was in principle the common property of its members. So far as it was pasture, it was shared among the households of the clan according to their graded rights. The arable was similarly shared; but the division was not permanent, nor the shares heritable.* According

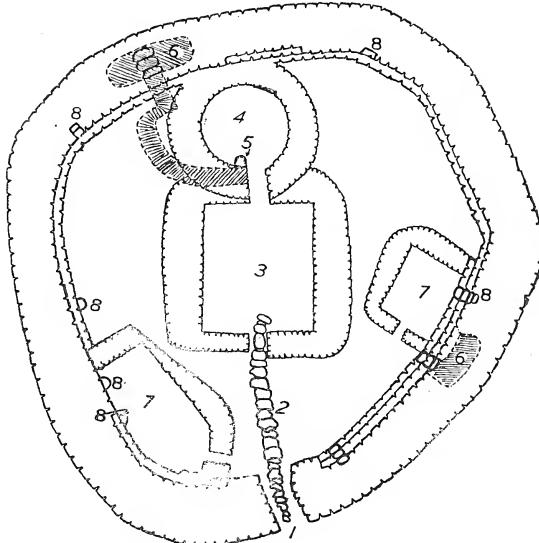


FIG. 1. LEACANABUAILE, CO. KERRY: (1) ENTRANCE; (2) PAVEMENT; (3) RECTANGULAR HOUSE; (4) CLOCHÁN; (5) ENTRANCE TO UNDERGROUND PASSAGE; (6) CHAMBERS IN RAMPART; (7) OUTHOUSES; (8) STEPS TO RAMPART. After Ó Riordáin and Foy.

to the law of the Irish tanistry (*sic!*), a chief divided the land afresh when the membership of his group had changed. *This variable assignment of arable to a household assumed that agriculture was entirely subordinate to pastoral activities.* Neither the social nor the economic organisation of the clan allowed a true peasant population to evolve. The clans were warlike territorial groups which readily fought one another. The upshot of the fighting often was that whole clans sought distant pastures . . . ; Celts from Ireland often moved into Scotland.'

p. 144 : 'Systematic enclosure must have been established and generalised at various dates in different regions. *In ancient Ireland, where land was owned tribally, it was impossible* : the annals suggest that hedges began to be planted about the end of the sixth century.'

p. 161 : 'Fifteenth-century Ireland remained, in great part, a country of wandering pastoralists—more so than Wales because its climate gave rich grazing at all seasons. Its people did not mow grass for hay, and built no stalls for their cattle, but moved themselves and their huts as the beasts used up the grass.'

These and the other passing comments⁴—for they are really nothing more—may, I think, be fairly summarised as follows : In the early historic and medieval periods the whole of Ireland was parcelled out among pastoral clans holding their land in common ; the clan land was periodically divided up among the members ; even in the fifteenth century the country largely remained one of wandering pastoralists who moved themselves, their huts, and their beasts from place to place according as the grass was consumed.

Now the source of much of this misinformation is not far to seek. It may readily be found in the writings of Giraldus Cambrensis,⁵ Sir John Davies,⁶ and Fynes Moryson.⁷

We must not permit ourselves to be misled by instinctive reactions to such alien accounts of twelfth and sixteenth century Ireland. They contain more than one grain of truth, though the grains are indeed (to adapt Cambrensis's own words) 'shriveled and small and can hardly be separated from the chaff by dint of winnowing'. In any event, we must wholeheartedly absolve serious modern investigators of any charge of Cambrenian vanity and prejudice or of Morysonian malice. After all, more than one native source would seem to confirm at least some of their conclusions. We have

⁴ *op. cit.*, pp. 12, 51, 160.

⁵ *Topographia Hibernica*. Dist. I., Cap. V, VI, XXXIII; Dist. III., Cap. X.

⁶ *A letter . . . to Robert, Earl of Salisbury, touching the State of Monaghan, Fermanagh and Cavan . . . , 1607 :*

A letter . . . to Robert, Earl of Salisbury, concerning the state of Ireland, 1610. A convenient edition of these (and of Moryson) will be found in Morley, *Ireland under Elizabeth and James the First . . . , 1890*, pp. 374, 387.

⁷ *A description of Ireland*, *op. cit.*, 426-30.

for instance Ciothruaidh Ó Heodhusa's *Cáit ar ghabbadar Gaoiðhil*, or Mathghamhain Ó Hiffernáin's *A mhic ná mebhraigh eigsí*.⁸

In point of fact, of course, all purely literary or propagandist ebullitions have to be treated with the greatest caution. At best they can only hope to supplement the solid primary sources at our disposal, viz., the so-called Breton Laws and archaeology. Now when we turn our attention to these sources and try to piece together the unfortunately still rather meagre results of modern scientific researches, a somewhat different picture soon begins to emerge, a picture, moreover, in which, generally speaking, the two classes of material fit together in truly remarkable fashion. It is no exaggeration to say that the broad, general conclusions to be derived from a study of the ancient law tracts are amply confirmed by the results of archaeological excavation. The evidence of either alone is sufficient to show that the basic notions adopted in the Cambridge History are at best grave distortions of the truth. Together they prove beyond question that the agrarian economy of Ireland in early historic times was comparable to that of other European nations but little affected by either Roman or Arab theory and practice. It was an economy grounded on private property in land⁹ and live-stock, and on a well-ordered, settled population. It was furthermore an economy in which a relatively well developed system of tillage played an essential and conspicuous part.

The name of Prof. MacNeill will, of course, be always associated with the refutation of the myths of a clan or tribal society and a communal economy. But as long ago as 1879 Richey had already demonstrated their absurdity.¹⁰ As we have seen, the protests of such scholars are still largely unheeded.

This latter phenomenon is all the more curious when we consider how varied, and in the aggregate how considerable, is the information which may be extracted from the legal literature alone about so many aspects of our present subject : land-tenure and inheritance, land-measurement, field crops and fences, horticulture, co-operative

⁸ Cf. O'Grady, *Catalogue of Irish MSS. in the British Museum*, I, pp. 374, 392.

⁹ 'Dagegen ist es ein Irrtum, wenn in älteren Werken bisweilen gesagt ist, der Einzelne habe in Irland kein Privateigentum an Land gehabt, sondern das Land habe der Sippe gemeinsam gehört. Vielmehr hat jeder Freie, wenigstens jeder mit eigenem Hausstand, sein Land, oft orba "Erbe" genannt, als Eigentum, wie viele Texte zeigen; um vollberechtigt zu sein, muss einer geradezu, außer einem gewissen Alter, Land besitzen.' Thurneysen, 'Das keltische Recht,' *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*, LV. Band. Germ. Abt. 1935, p. 81 ff.

¹⁰ *Ancient Laws of Ireland*, IV, Introduction.

tillage, bee-keeping, stock-raising, poultry-keeping, farm implements and so on. The greater part of this information has yet to be scientifically sifted.

The first point to be noted is the classification of ancient Irish society. For present purposes it suffices to recall that Gaedic society was divided into two main classes, free and unfree. The unfree class, which comprised the bulk of the population, consisted of cottiers, tenants-at-will, and serfs bound to the soil.¹¹ It is when we come to consider the exact position of this class that some of the more serious gaps in our knowledge become of pressing concern. We have but scanty information about their conditions of tenure, way of life, and so forth. Unfortunately, too, these

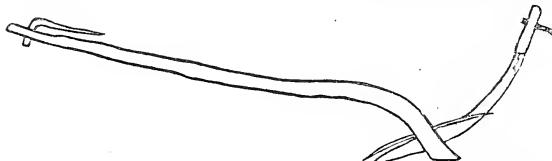


FIG. 2 : WOODEN PLOUGH, c. 400 B.C. from Døstrup. After Leser, *Entstehung und Verbreitung des Pfluges*, 1931.

deficiencies on the purely documentary side are paralleled by others on the archaeological.

Oliver Davies has recently described in this Journal¹² a settlement in South Donegal which I like to think of as the first recorded group of crofts belonging to members of this class. The site is a limestone ridge on the edge of a drumlin area. The shallow soil and outcrops on the ridge render it unsuitable for modern cultivation so that it has preserved its ancient remains.

Along the ridge are scattered remains of prehistoric stone forts, huts, and field-fences, whose focal point is a pillarstone of undoubtedly religious character. One of the huts was excavated. The field system is older than this hut, but the latter was probably constructed while the fields were still in use. The fields on the

¹¹ For texts relating to social grades, etc., see Binchy, *Crit. Gablach*, Dublin, 1941; MacNeill, 'Ancient Irish Law: The law of franchise or status,' *Proc. Roy. Ir. Academy*, xxxvi, C, No. 16; Thurneysen, 'Irisches Recht,' *Abhandlungen der preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften*, Jhrg. 1931, Phil. hist. Kl., Nr. 2; Thurneysen, 'Aus dem irischen Recht, I, II,' *Zeitschrift für celt. Philologie*, xiv, 335, xv, 238, 370, xvi, 211.

¹² 'The Two-mile Stone. A prehistoric community in County Donegal,' *Journ. Roy. Soc. Ant. Ireland*, lxxii, 1942, pp. 98, ff.

top of the ridge are large and irregular, often bounded by short straight lines of wall. They would be suitable only for pasture. On the southern slope is a series of terraces which may have had sufficient depth of earth for cultivation. In any case, cultivation is attested by the many grains of cereals found in and about the excavated hut.

Of the two forts one stands isolated on the edge of a large field and might be of any date; the other is definitely integrated with the field system. This second fort is 77ft. in diameter as compared with 80ft. to 90ft. at Leacanabuaille (infra p. 132 and Fig. 1).

According to Mr. Davies the whole group illustrates the life of an Irish community during the closing centuries of the pagan era and perhaps later. The peasants lived in isolated huts, and possibly also in the cashels. I, for my part, like to regard the cashels as the seats of the crofters' landlords. Further excavation might throw some light on the question.

The excavated hut was found to be the second dwelling at that particular spot, a point not obviously consistent with nomadism. The finds recovered included remains of horse, wheat, barley and rye. These, like the site generally are tentatively dated by sherds of decorated pottery probably of sub-Roman date, some of them perhaps of post-Christian date.

The field enclosures show that there was private property in stock, and 'at least private usufruct of the land.' The economy was mixed, including both tillage and pasture.

So much for the unfree majority.

When we turn to the free minority our information, while immeasurably better, is still quite inadequate. We know for example that the normal freeman was a freeholder living on his own privately-owned, inherited farm which he worked with the help of his sons, tenants, and other retainers. On the produce of that farm he depended, to a degree nowadays difficult to visualise, for the raw materials for house and home, food and drink, fuel and raiment.

As an instance of the type of information provided by the laws about this class we have the property qualifications prescribed for the *mrugfer* or 'landman' by *Crit Gablach*,¹¹ a tract on legal status written about the year 700. The freemen were graded by the jurists in elaborate hierarchies of both nobles and commons. The *mrugfer* in the classification adopted by *Crit Gablach* was the normal, average freeholder of the commoner grade. He was neither rich nor poor, but, shall we say? a typical 'strong' farmer of the time.

'The "landnan" why is he so called? From the number of his lands; he has the land of three times seven *cumals*.¹³ He is the "bó-airc of the rule of judgment" . . . with all the equipment of his house in its proper places: cauldron with its bar, with its handles (? sticks); a vat in which a measure of ale can be brewed; a cauldron for use; small vessels, both iron and kneading troughs and wooden mugs and a bathing tub; a tub, a candlestick, knives for cutting rushes, ropes, an adze, an auger, a saw, a pair of wooden shafts (?), an axe, implements for use in every season—every one of them unborrowed—a whetstone, a billhook, spears for killing livestock, a perpetual fire, a candle on a candlestick without fail, a complete ploughing outfit with all its accessories.

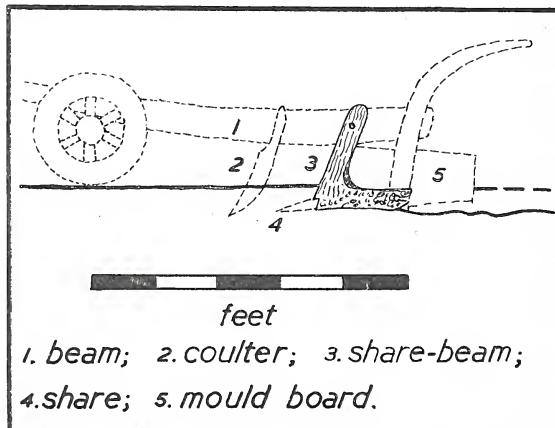


FIG. 3 : WOODEN PLOUGH, c. 400 B.C., WITH COULTER, WHEELS, AND MOULDBOARD, FROM TØMMERBY. After Curwen.

'Now these are the functions of the "bó-airc of the rule of judgment": There are always two vessels in his house, a vessel of milk and a vessel of ale. He is the man of three snouts: the snout of a hog under a dyke¹⁴ that cleaves dishonour at all times,¹⁵ the snout of a fitch on a hook, the snout of a plough under the surface,

¹³ The *cumal*, or female slave, was the highest unit of value used in ordinary reckoning. For the *cumal* of land see *Proc. Roy. Ir. Acad.* xxxvi, C, 286².

¹⁴ or 'of a rooting hog.'

¹⁵ i.e. which prevents him from being disgraced.

so that he is able to receive king or bishop or Latin scholar¹⁶ or judge from the road, and is prepared for the arrival of every retinue.¹⁷ He is a man of three measures (that he has) always in his house for every quarter of the year : a measure of malt, a measure of sea-ash (salt) for the cutting up of joints of his beasts, a measure of charcoal for irons. He has seven "houses" : a drying kiln,¹⁸ a barn, a mill (his share in the latter so that it grinds for him) a dwelling-house of twenty-seven feet, an *aicrachae* of seventeen feet,¹⁹ a pigsty, a calf-pen, a sheep-fold. (He has) twenty cows, two bulls, six oxen, twenty pigs, twenty sheep, four domestic boars, two sows, a riding-horse, a red enamelled bridle, sixteen sacks (of seed) in the ground. He has a bronze cauldron in which there is room for a boar; he owns a green (in front of his house) in which there are always sheep without removal.'

Let us now consider, first of all in a very general way, some results of the excavations of the past ten or twelve years. The sites which concern us are Ballinderry II,²⁰ Cahercommaun,²¹ Leacanabusile,²² and Ballinderry I.²³ I propose to take them in that order which is more or less the order of their relative chronology.

Ballinderry II, Co. Westmeath, was a crannóg of about the eighth century A.D. It was excavated by the Harvard Archaeological Mission to Ireland. The finds there (which show that the owners belonged to the upper classes) included an iron spade, two entire lower quern-stones, eight other fragments of querns and quantities of animal bones, mainly domestic. For the moment the main interest of these finds is the relatively meagre evidence they afford of tillage.

Cahercommaun, Co. Clare, another Harvard excavation, was a stone fort of elaborate construction, and quite clearly likewise

¹⁶ i.e. head of a monastic school.

¹⁷ Every member of the noble grades was entitled to be attended by a *dám* or retinue of 'free' vassals as he travelled about his *túath*. The number was regulated by his rank, etc. He and his *dám* were entitled to free hospitality for a specified period. The *mruigfer* had to be able to afford such to the highest ranks with their correspondingly large retinues.

¹⁸ For the construction of such drying-kilns see *Proc. Roy. Ir. Acad.* xlix, C. p. 11.

¹⁹ For the house see Richmond, 'The Irish analogies for the Roman-British barn dwelling', *The Journal of Roman Studies*, xxii, 96 ff. The house and *aicrachae* are taken to be twice as long as broad, so that only the breadth has to be specified. The *aicrachae* 'forehouse' (?) was apparently the kitchen end of the dwelling-house which was of the hall or aisled type in the case of wooden structures, the only kind described in legal or heroic literature. Cf. p. 132 infra.

²⁰ *Proc. Roy. Ir. Acad.*, xlvi, C. No. 1.

²¹ H. O'Neill Hencken, *Cahercommaun, a Stone Fort in County Clare*, Roy. Soc. Ant. of Ireland, Special Volume, 1938.

²² *Journal of the Cork Hist. & Archaeol. Soc.*, xlvi, 85 ff.

²³ *Proc. Roy. Ir. Acad.*, xliii, C. No. 5.

an aristocratic habitation. Here, unlike on the other sites, there was little to suggest prolonged occupation. The finds once more included bones of domestic animals and querns for grinding grain. The querns represented both the saddle and rotary types. Dr. Hencken suggests that each type may have had a specific use. Be this as it may, dwellers 'in the mountains of North Clare are unlikely to have cultivated extensive areas.'

The fact that there was little to indicate occupation for more than a few generations is certainly curious. In view of the complexity and massive construction of the site, of the testimony of other sites of the period, and of the evidence of the legal sources, Dr. Hencken's guess that the enormous number of stone forts in the area suggests frequent movement to new sites will hardly bear serious consideration.

Leacanabuaille, Co. Kerry, is also a stone fort. Here we have what may well be the homestead of an average 'strong' farmer of the 9th–10th century, perhaps indeed of a member of the *mrugger* class itself. It was excavated a couple of years ago by Mr. J. B. Foy under the direction of Prof. Ó Riordáin. If it figures rather prominently here, this is not because of the richness of its finds, which were indeed meagre, but rather because of the well-preserved condition of the structure and because of its simplicity of plan and interpretation (Fig. 1).

Excavation disclosed a roughly circular enclosure some 80ft.–90ft. in diameter. It is surrounded by a high and massive wall of dry-built masonry some 10ft. thick at the base, altogether a rather permanent looking construction. From the single gateway a flagged path leads to a bipartite dwelling-house. The front portion of the dwelling consists of a dry-stone rectangular house some 20ft. x 25ft. which has been built on to a beehive hut or *clochán* 15ft. or so in diameter. This present stage of the dwelling is not original, for earlier there had been no rectangular house, but only three separate *clocháns*, two of which have been removed to make way for the more commodious and convenient rectangular structure. (Here again we have a feature scarcely consistent with nomadic conditions). The rectangular house presumably represents the common living room, and doubtless too the sleeping quarters of younger members of the family and of servants. The fireplace was in the middle of the floor, and the smoke escaped through an opening in the roof which was probably of thatch. Against the surrounding rampart were built two sub-rectangular lean-to's, outhouses, one of which probably served as a barn.

So substantial a homestead was not, of course, typical of all

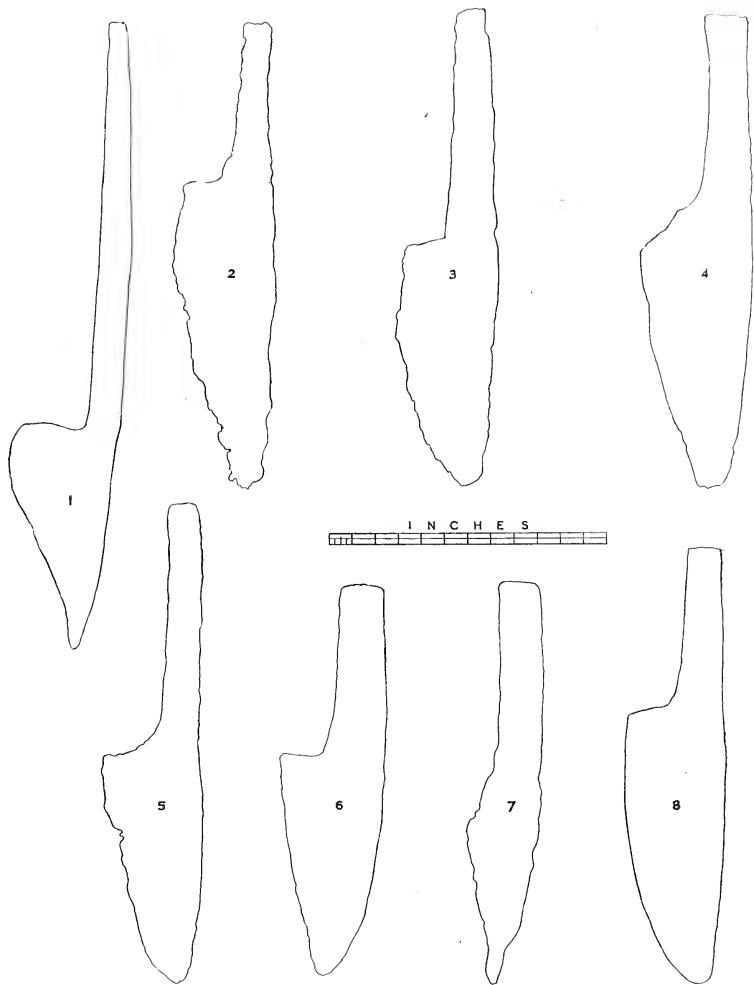


FIG. 4 : NO. 1, ROMANO-BRITISH COULTER, WITCOMBE, GLOUCESTERSHIRE ;
NO. 6, LAGORE CRANNÓG, CO. MEATH ; NO. 8, BALLINDERRY II CRANNÓG,
CO. WESTMEATH ; NOS. 2, 3, 4, 5, PROVENANCE UNCERTAIN.

Ireland, but, like the Cahercomnaun or Twomile Stone huts and forts, only of the less fertile, stony, and thinly wooded districts. Elsewhere, as we know from both written and archaeological records, houses were normally of timber or clay, or of both combined. In other words, houses, as we might expect, were built of whatever suitable material came most readily to hand. Unfortunately timber and clay houses seldom leave clearly intelligible traces for the excavator.²⁴ Hence the accidental prominence achieved by sites like Leacanabuaile, not merely in this paper, but in archaeological syntheses generally.

The finds at this site included a typical sickle and plough-share of the period as well as evidence of milling, and stock-raising.

By far the richest of the sites under review, was the famous crannóg, Ballinderry I, which is dated by Dr. Hencken from about A.D. 950 onwards to medieval times. Here we have a site bearing every mark of continuous occupation for centuries.

As in the case of Ballinderry II, the occupants must have been wealthy, and probably aristocratic, farmers whose fields and pastures were situated on the adjacent mainland. The finds disclose that, while they made occasional use of wild fruits and the rewards of the chase, the great bulk of their food was raised on their own fields. A splendidly wrought plough-coulter and numerous querns and mill stones bear witness to a well developed tillage system and to milling on a considerable scale. One of the mill-stones is truly remarkable. Fashioned from sandstone, it is 28ins. in diameter, 11½ins. thick, and has a central perforation 5½ins. in diameter at its widest part. Even in its present fragmentary condition it weighs no less than 350 lbs. and presumably belonged to the well attested water-driven type of mill. Altogether a congruous and most convenient piece of furniture for nomadic pastoralists!

Before passing on, it is well to notice what the excavator has to say of the nationality of the occupants of this crannóg: 'Viking objects,' he writes, 'and a certain amount of Viking influence . . . have been detected, but this does not mean that the northern settlers ever lived there. Indeed, there is no reason to suppose that the people of the crannóg were ever anything but Irish.'

This brings to a close our general analysis of the evidence of scientifically excavated sites. Publication of the great excavations

²⁴ As witness for instance the excavations at Ballinderry I, II, Ballycatteen (*Proc. Roy. Ir. Acad.*, xl ix, C, No. 1), and Garranes (*ibid.*, xl vii, C, No. 2).

carried out at Lagore and Carrigalla²⁵ will presumably add much to our knowledge.

A few of the agricultural implements of the period call now for brief consideration. We may begin with the plough. Two distinct types figure prominently in the prehistoric and medieval development of the European plough. On the one hand was the light, two-ox plough, without coulter, wheels, or mould-board and designated by Scandinavian *ard*, Greek *ἄροτρον*, and Latin *aratum* whence French *araire*. This light implement is commonly held to be of Mediterranean origin in view of its suitability to Mediterranean soils and climate. It occurs, however, in northern Europe too, the earliest reliably dated example (Fig. 2), c. 400 B.C., actually coming from Døstrup in Jutland²⁶ where it would have suited the climatic conditions of the Bronze Age. This light plough did little more than scratch the surface so that cross-ploughing was often imperative. It is therefore commonly associated with small square fields.

On the other hand was the heavy coultered plough which might also have wheels and mould-board. It is called *carruca* in Latin, a word of Celtic origin. Another Latin name, *plaumoratum*, is of Teutonic origin and is generally taken to reveal the place of origin of this implement, i.e. somewhere in Germanic lands. This *carruca* type which, unlike the *aratum* type, is a real plough, drove the long, straight, and deep furrow characteristic of the open-field system and was particularly suited to heavy soils. Strangely enough, the earliest known example (Fig. 3), from Tommerby in Denmark, likewise dates from about 400 B.C. The type first appears in Britain about 75 B.C. in Belgic contexts²⁷ and later becomes numerous in sites of the Roman period, notably at Silchester.

Figure 4, No. 1, shows a typical Romano-British coulter from Witcombe, Gloucestershire.²⁸ It is 27½ ins. long and weighs 7½ lbs. As a class such coulters seem to range from about 27 ins. to 35 ins. in length and from 8 or 9 to 16 lbs. in weight. The blades average about

²⁵ I am indebted to Prof. Ó Riordáin for the information that the finds at Carrigalla are in perfect accord with those from the other sites of the period.

²⁶ The neolithic date, 3500 B.C., claimed for one from Walle, Hanover, is not widely accepted. Cf. Curwen, 'Early agriculture in Denmark', *Antiquity*, xii, 1938, p. 135 ff.

Unfortunately the standard work on the European plough, Steenberg's 'North-west European plough-types of prehistoric times and the Middle Ages', *Acta Archaeologica*, vii, 1936, is not available in Dublin.

²⁷ Karslake, 'Plough coulters from Silchester', *Antiquaries Journal*, xiii, 1933, 455 ff.

²⁸ After Hawkes, 'The Roman villa and the heavy plough', *Antiquity*, ix, 1935, p. 339, q.v. for a bibliography of such coulters.

Sins. in length by 3ins. to 4ins. in breadth at the top. The stems or shanks are very long, ranging from about 19ins to 27ins. This great length of shank, which is in marked contrast to the shortness of Irish coulters, is also characteristic of the coulter of the heavy, wheeled, medieval plough²⁹ which evidently derives directly from the prehistoric *carruca* (*plaumoratum*). It is quite simply explained : the wheels lifted the plough-beam high off the ground so that the shank of the coulter was necessarily very long. Where we find this long heavy coulter we find indisputable evidence of the heavy wheeled plough.³⁰

To judge by the sole recorded name, *arathar* (*cécht arathair*), the early Irish plough should have belonged to the light *aratum* class. Such a conclusion does not seem to be borne out by the archaeological evidence.

Examination of the National Museum collection of early coulters reveals a remarkable uniformity of size and proportions. Figure 4, No. 8, illustrates the splendid example from Ballinderry I already mentioned. It is only 19ins. long but is 4½ins. wide in the blade, and 1ins. thick along the back ; the shank is only 7ins. long. No. 6 from Lagore, is 17ins. by 4½ins., the shank being just 7½ins. long. Most of the others have shanks of 7ins. the longest being not more than 10ins. The weights range from 3lbs. 11½ozs. in the case of the most decayed (and therefore unreliable) specimen (Fig. 4, No. 7) to 8lbs. 15ozs. in the case of that from Ballinderry. As a class they seem appropriate to a low, wheel-less, but heavy plough. (The light, decayed example may, of course, come from a light plough).

The evidence of our few ploughshares is similarly confused. At least two types are represented : (a) A simple triangular shoe, relatively light in weight, e.g. Leacabhuaille (Fig. 5, No. 3) 3lbs. 14ozs. ; (b) a heavy, double-flanged, triangular shoe, very narrow and with straight, high sides (a veritable 'snout of a plough'), e.g. Lagore, Co. Meath (6lbs. 6ozs.) and Upper Bawnishal, Co. Cork (Fig. 5, No. 4. Fig. 6). Type (a) might perhaps have belonged to a plough of the *aratum* type such as apparently survived in Co. Donegal a century ago.³¹ Type (b), on the other hand, indicates a heavy plough. (The fact that one of these shares comes from Lagore, which also produced one of the heavy coulters, is indeed

²⁹ London Museum Catalogues : No. 7; Medieval Catalogue, 1940, pl. xxii.

³⁰ On three 20th century wooden, wheel-less ploughs ('swing ploughs') from Co. Galway, now in the National Museum, the coulters measure 27", 30" and 32" respectively, the shanks being 14½", 16" and 19½" long. But they differ in shape and weight from the *carruca* type.

³¹ Evans, *Irish Heritage*, 1942, pp. 89 f., where is quoted the contemporary description 'a crooked stick armed with a bit of iron'.

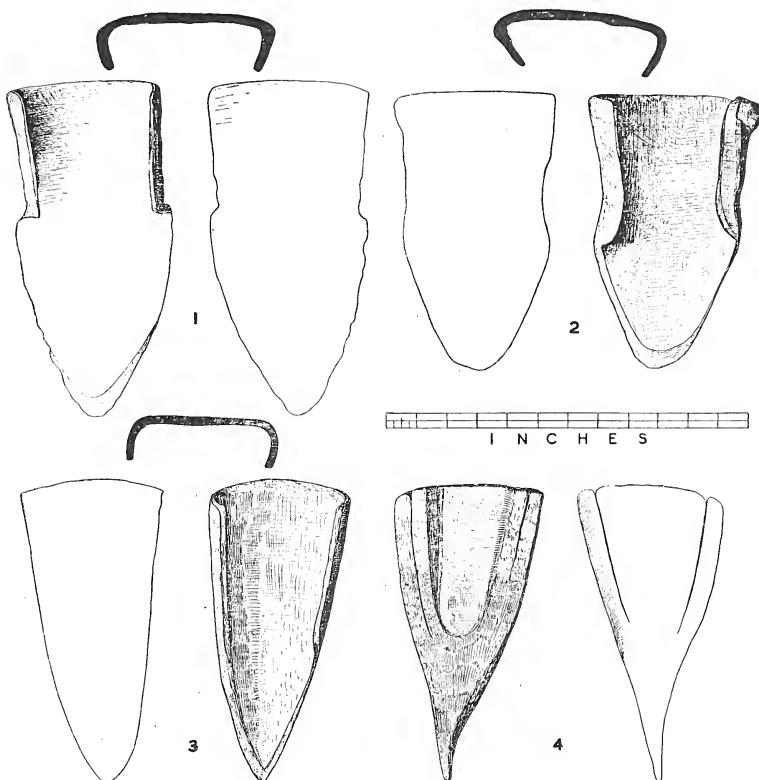


FIG. 5 : IRISH PLOUGHSHARES : NO. 3, LEACANABUAILE, CO. KERRY ; NO. 4,
LAGORE CRANNÓG, CO. MEATH ; NOS. 1 AND 2 DATE AND PROVENANCE
UNCERTAIN.

suggestive). Neither type of ploughshare could have done more than scratch the soil, for neither is calculated to undercut and invert the sod.

In addition to these two certain types of share we have to allow for a probable third. Figure 5, Nos. 1, 2, shows two implements identical with La Tène III objects classed by Déchelette as ploughshares though they may have belonged to implements of the 'cash-crom' class. Unfortunately their date and provenance are not reliably attested.

If this literary and material evidence fails to establish conclusively the precise type or types of the early Irish plough it at least bears testimony to substantial, well-made agricultural equipment. As Dr. Hencken rightly says, the Ballinderry coulter 'does show what well-developed farming apparatus the crannóg dwellers possessed.'

The plough-team was normally of oxen. These were yoked (Fig. 7) to the plough and controlled by means of a goad. The number of animals to the team would seem to have been four. At any rate in *Cóith Gablach* a quarter-share in a ploughing outfit is said to consist of a halter, a ploughshare and *one* ox. Prof. MacNeill³² suggests that the four oxen were used in pairs, turn about. On the other hand the name for a plough-team, *seirech*, would seem to imply a team of six beasts. But this may be a mere echo of more ancient times and ways.

There were at least two good and sufficient reasons why oxen were used instead of horses to draw the plough. First of all the Irish horse of the period was a very light animal indeed, no bigger than a pony of the Connemara or Antrim type.³³ Secondly, horses could not profitably be harnessed to a plough prior to the adoption of the stiff horse-collar which rests on the shoulders. This collar is considered by some to be of Asiatic origin. Be this as it may, no representation of it is known anywhere in Europe before the 10th century.³⁴ When exactly it came to Ireland has not to my knowledge been determined. The older type of collar, dating from the third millennium B.C., was of soft leather and worn in such a way that it pressed on the trachean artery and hindered the horse's breathing. The use of oxen was therefore inevitable. (Incidentally we may have here the ultimate explanation of the

³² *Proc. Roy. Ir. Acad.*, xxxvi, C, 287¹.

³³ See zoological appendices to the Ballinderry and Cahercommaun reports.

³⁴ Haudricourt 'De l'origine de l'attelage moderne', *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale*, viii, 1936. Professor Gordon Childe, holds that it was invented in Europe somewhere about the 9th century.

alleged Irish custom of ploughing by the horse's tail). The use of draught oxen in this way survived in some parts of the country until the nineteenth century.

The actual ploughing was done in March and only one crop was grown in the year. Corn was seemingly sown directly 'on the furrow.' Harrowing is specifically mentioned in *Crit Gablach*, which, as we have seen, was committed to writing about the year 700. How much older the custom may have been is uncertain.

It is clear from all this that the plough played an important part in early Irish agriculture. None the less, over considerable

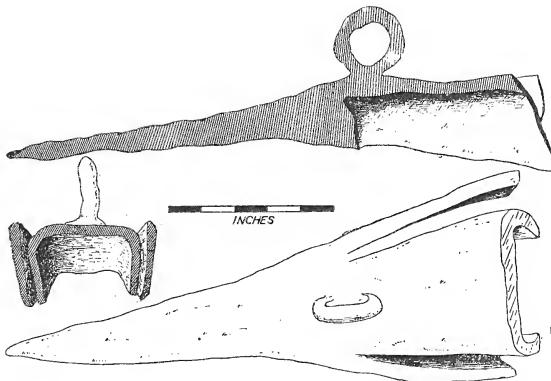


FIG. 6: IRON PLOUGHSHARE FROM UPPER BAWNISHAL, CO. CORK.
DATE UNKNOWN. By courtesy of Mr. M. J. O'Kelly, Curator, Cork Museum.

areas of the country, and particularly among the poorer classes, the characteristic implement for turning the soil must inevitably have been the spade. I regret that I have not yet been able to make any collection of reliably dated types for illustration, but it is safe enough to say that the characteristic type—though essentially a wooden implement with a simple iron sheath on the cutting edge—was the direct ancestor of the modern implement known variously as *laighe* ('loy'), *feac* ('fack'), and 'kib.' This

spade appears to have a very long and ancient pedigree going back into prehistoric times and to have been wide-spread throughout the later Roman empire.

Our knowledge of the actual crops cultivated leaves very much to be desired, and there seems to be considerable scope for investigation by specialists.

Of the cereals, wheat,³⁵ oats, barley, and rye are attested by either written or archaeological evidence (or by both). Flax also was a most important crop. The brassica (*Ir. braisech, praisceach*) family too was represented—according to general opinion by kale. Some tap-rooted vegetable (*meacain*) was likewise grown, though whether the parsnip or carrot is not clear. (The same natural confusion exists in the case of other countries too, e.g. Germany). Other crops were onions, leeks, garlic, and dye-plants.

Cereals were reaped by means of a sickle. Figure 8 includes a representative series of types. From the shapes and sizes of the majority it is clear that the straw must have been cut high up the stalk, often in fact quite near the ear.³⁶ This agrees with what we know of medieval European reaping in general, where paintings and descriptions show that the stalk was usually cut half way up, the lower stalk being either eaten off by cattle, cut separately for thatch, or ploughed in as fertiliser.

Though well known in Roman Britain, the scythe does not appear to have reached Ireland until late historic times. It is not known from any early archaeological site. Furthermore, as Prof. O'Rahilly has shown,³⁷ the Irish name, *speal*, is a late arrival. It ultimately goes back to Middle English. The significance of this for the history of hay-making in Ireland seems clear. The scythe is a specialised implement for mowing grass close to the ground. Its absence in early times, the lack of any special Irish name for hay, together with other less obvious evidence, confirm the testimony of writers like Bede and Cambrensis in this particular regard.

The threshing of corn was normally done in the barn or on a special threshing floor by means of an implement called a *súist*, Mod. Ir. *súiste*. The name, though nowadays meaning a 'flail',

³⁵ Two varieties *ruadin* and *cruitnecht*, the former 'red', the latter white.

³⁶ The average length of the chord from tip to inner end of the blade in the case of the ten National Museum examples is only 3·6". In two 19/20th century specimens in the National Museum Folk Collection the measurements are 11½" and 12" respectively. A recent factory specimen measures 13".

³⁷ *Scottish Gaelic Studies*, ii, 26.

actually comes from Latin *fustis* 'rod, stick', and presumably originally meant simply the widely known 'beating stick' of Mediterranean origin. From the fourth century onwards the *fustis* was gradually ousted in Western Europe by the *flagellum* or 'flail' proper. From *flagellum* come names such as English 'flail', German *Flegel*. The name *flagellum* was not borrowed into Irish in this sense. Instead, the old name from *fustis* has survived. It seems not impossible that the actual 'beating stick' itself long survived here too. It still survives side by side with the flail and the combine harvester in other countries.

By and large it is clear that we have abundant written and material evidence for the existence of a well developed tillage system in this country prior to the Norman invasion.

With that evidence in mind it comes as no surprise to find our old friend Fynes Moryson writing in the following terms of the Lord Deputy's expedition into Laoighis towards the close of Elizabeth's reign :

'Our captaines, and by their example (for it was otherwise painefull), the common souldiers did cut downe with their swords all the rebels corne, to the value of ten thousand pound and upward, the onely meanes by which they were to live and to keepe their bonaghts or hired souldiers. It seemed incredible that by so barbarous inhabitants the ground should be so manured, the fields so orderly fenced, the townes so frequently inhabited, and the high waies and paths so well beaten as the Lord Deputy here found them. The reason whereof was that the Queens forces during these warrs never till then came among them.'³⁸

When all is said and done, however, there can be no getting away from the fact that tillage has always been definitely subordinate to stock-raising. There can be no doubt as to the part which cattle played both in ordinary life and in politics. Our early literature, historical, legal, hagiographical, and romantic, is full of the sound of cattle. Once again there is full agreement between the testimony of the pen and the testimony of the spade. Ballinderry II produced 14,600 pounds of animal bones, a quantity out of all proportion to the evidence of tillage, Cahercomnaun produced 9,223 lbs., while Lagore, I am informed, produced them literally by the ton.

Among the sites themselves there is a noteworthy consistency as to the proportions of the different types of animal represented, and as to the breeds of each. At Ballinderry II the proportions were : ox 70-90%, pig 10-20%, sheep 1-8%, horse 0.5-3.5%;

³⁸ *An Itinerary . . . , Pt. II, Booke I, Chap. II.*

at Cahercommaun : ox 97%, sheep and goat 1%, pig about 1%, horse, about 0·5% ; at Leacanbuaille : ox 90%, sheep or goat numerous, one horse ; at Ballinderry I : ox 70%, pig 22·5%, sheep or goat, 5·5%, horse, 1%. While these figures are simply percentages of the total bulk of bones at each of the sites, and consequently provide only a very rough guide to the relative importance of the various types of animal, there can be no solid reason for refusing to acknowledge their significance. Cattle,

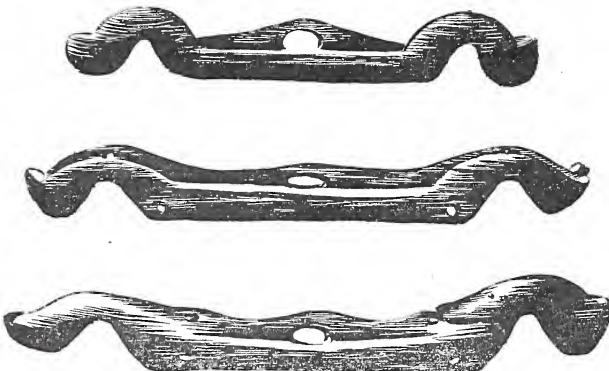


FIG. 7 : OX-YOKES FROM IRISH BOGS. DATE UNKNOWN. TOBERDONEY, CO. ANTRIM ; CO. MEATH ; GLASLOUGH, CO. MONAGHAN.

as we might well expect, came first in importance, then pigs, sheep, and horses in that order.

As in the case of the crops, much investigation still remains to be carried out as regards the varieties of animals represented. The most recent and up-to-date contribution (by A. W. Stelfox of the National Museum and C. Bryner Jones of the Welsh Department of Agriculture) will be found in Dr. Hencken's report on Ballinderry II. Of the cattle Mr. Jones writes : 'In Britain and Ireland, domesticated cattle from Neolithic to comparatively recent times . . . were, from the point of view of the modern breeder, a mixture of various types, in the main small in size . . . Generally speaking it would appear that from prehistoric to Medieval times,

and even later, the common domesticated cattle were of much the same variable type both in Britain and Ireland, those on good land being no doubt bigger and heavier than those in the poorer districts. The skulls from Ballinderry . . . represent the common Domesticated Ox, and show the same variation in detail as is generally found in early ox-skulls. It is from this variable stock that modern breeds of cattle have . . . been evolved in comparatively recent times. As far as skull formation is concerned, there is hardly a modern breed that does not find its prototype among the remains found at various sites from Windmill Hill to the Irish Crannogs. Among the (Ballinderry) group of skulls . . . may be discerned the types represented by the modern Kerry, the Longhorn, the Hereford, the Shorthorn, and the Aberdeen-Angus or Red Poll. There is not much to distinguish them generally from the skulls of the Roman and the earlier periods in Britain.³⁹ If one may speak at all of a typical Irish breed then its modern representative is the Dexter, not the Kerry as so commonly supposed.

The Ballinderry sheep represented both the four-horned and the two-horned varieties, the latter predominating. All belonged to the small race characteristic of the period.⁴⁰

The pig bones represented the primitive domestic pig. Known to naturalists as the 'Greyhound Pig' from the long and active legs of its latest representatives, it was formerly believed to represent a distinct Irish variety.⁴¹ But to-day some experts hold that its characteristic features are readily explained by excessive exercise and malnutrition or simple starvation.⁴²

Since cattle were not housed during the winter, but left in the open pastures throughout the year, the amount of manure available for tillage can never have been considerable. This in its turn, coupled with the lack of hay and other modern winter foodstuffs, made it necessary to kill off a considerable proportion of the animals in autumn. The scale on which this was carried out may be gauged from the fact that in the laws flesh meat is commonly called 'winter food' and distinguished from 'summer food' which consisted largely of dairy produce.

³⁹ Cf. further Scharff (R.F.) 'On the origin of Irish cattle', *The Irish Naturalist*, xxxiii, 1923, p. 55;

Bryner Jones (C.): 'Notes on some skulls of cattle from Ballinderry crannog No. 2, Co. Westmeath and Lagore Crannog, Co. Meath', *The Irish Naturalists' Journal*, vii, 1938, 205.

⁴⁰ Cf. Scharff (R.F.) 'Some notes on the Irish Sheep', *The Irish Naturalist*, xxii, 1922, p. 73.

⁴¹ Cf. Scharff (R.F.) 'On the Irish Pig', *ibid.*, xxvi, 1917, p. 173. ¶

⁴² I am greatly indebted to my colleague A. W. Stelfox for much helpful information, of which only a small portion is represented in this present paper.

No discussion, however cursory, of early historic agriculture in Ireland can omit reference to the likelihood of a strong stimulus to tillage and horticulture as a result of the phenomenal expansion of monasticism which set in about A.D. 550. Even if we discount the fantastic numbers of monks and scholars invented in writings of later date, we must still envisage an unprecedented demand for the raw materials of food, clothing, and shelter. In addition, we are confronted with a number of suggestive Latin borrowings like *sūst* (*fustis*) 'flail', *caise* (*caseus*) 'cheese', *braisech* (*brassica*) 'kale', *muilenn* (*molina*) 'water-mill', *secul* (*secale*) 'rye', and

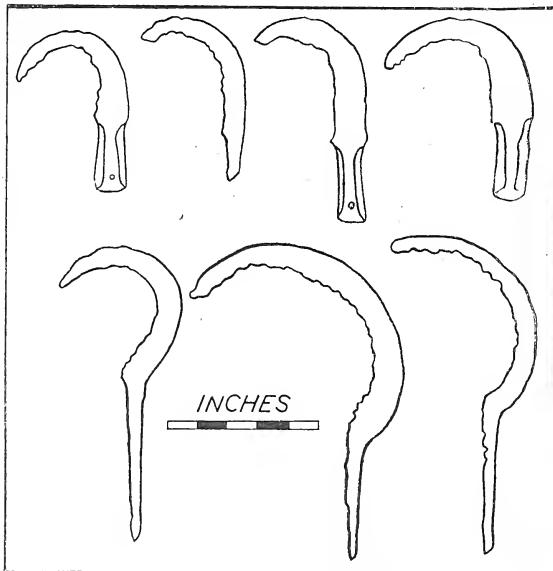


FIG. 8 : SICKLES OF THE EARLY HISTORIC AND MEDIEVAL PERIODS :
Top row, left to right : Nos. 1, AND 2, LAGORE CRANNÓG ;
Nos. 3 AND 4, STROKESTOWN CRANNÓGS. Bottom Row :
Nos. 1 AND 3, STROKESTOWN ; No. 2, LAGORE CRANNÓG.

manach (*monachus*) 'monk'. By the seventh or eighth century *manach* had come to mean 'tenant of monastic land,' while its derivative *manchuine*, from meaning the condition or service of such a tenant, had come to mean the labour services at harvest time due from an ordinary lay vassal to his lay lord.⁴³ In his great work on Irish monasticism⁴⁴ Fr. John Ryan writes: 'Agricultural, as distinct from pastoral, pursuits were . . . favoured by the great increase in population during the sixth century (which led to the enclosing of lands in the seventh) and by the fact that corn (rather than butter, milk and meat) was the staple article of diet for the monks. The later *Lismore Lives* show the two branches of agriculture fairly evenly balanced, but the gain seems to be slightly on the side of tillage.'

Even if we hesitate to accept as authentic Fr. Ryan's source for a seventh century dating of enclosure⁴⁵, we must admit that its chronology would well fit in with an increase of tillage, and therefore with increased fencing of the arable, under monastic influence.

⁴³ Cf. *Cáin aicillne*, §§ 8-13, *Zeitsch für Celt. Philologie*, xiv, 347 ff.

⁴⁴ *Irish Monasticism: origins and early development*, (1931), p. 364^a.

⁴⁵ Cf. *The Cambridge Economic History*, p. 144, quoted above, p. 126. For evidence of Bronze Age enclosure see Ó Riordáin, 'Excavations at Cush, Co. Limerick', *Proc. Roy. Ir. Academy*, xlv, C, No. 7.

Davies dates the Two Mile Stone field fences to 'the last centuries of paganism'. He also refers to ancient fields not later than 400 B.C. which he surveyed at Ballygroll, Co. Derry. The law-tracts have abundant evidence of fencing which, however, has to be considered in conjunction with evidence of some form of rundale.

AN EXTENDED BURIAL AT FASSAROE, CO. WICKLOW.

By E. KEENAN, M.D., EOIN MACWHITE, B.A., *Members*, and
F. J. O'ROURKE.

I.—ARCHAEOLOGICAL REPORT.

THE burial here described was discovered during sand digging on 23rd October, 1943, and reported to the National Museum by the Bray Gárdá authorities. The site was examined by two of the writers (E. MacW., F. J. O'R.) under the direction of Mr. Michael V. Duignan, M.A., of the National Museum.

The site was just above the 300ft. contour at the top of the glacial delta gravel north of the Dargle River in the townland of Fassaroe, Parish of Kilmacanogue, Barony of Rathdown, Co. Wicklow.¹ These great deposits have been extensively quarried for gravel in recent years and the National Museum has already obtained three fragments of flat copper axes and two amorphous cakes of bronze from the pits in the townland of Monastery which adjoins Fassaroe.

The skeleton was extended with the head at the western end, the body orientated nearly East-West in the grave which was a long ovoid. Considerable disturbance and the very friable condition of the remains made it at first somewhat difficult to determine the method of burial. It was not possible to clean the skeleton for photography since a considerable portion of it had been removed before we arrived (several bones being found in the spoil heap). It was, however, possible to draw a section through the grave and this is reproduced herewith (Fig. 1).

The stratigraphy was as follows (from the surface) :

- I. A layer of ploughed humus averaging about 30 cm. deep and containing some fragments of modern crockery and a few flint flakes (marked B, C, and D on plan deposited in the Irish Antiquities Division of the National Museum).
- II. A layer of undisturbed red sandy soil averaging 16 cm. deep.
- III. Undisturbed gravel.

¹ O.S. 6" Wicklow, Sheet 7, 11·7 cm. W., 3 cm. S.

The section of the grave could not be traced in layer I due to disturbance but its outline was quite clear in layers II and III. The maximum depth of the grave from the present surface was about 96 cm. At a depth of 43 cm. from the surface, at the spot marked X on section, we found a semicircular flint knife with

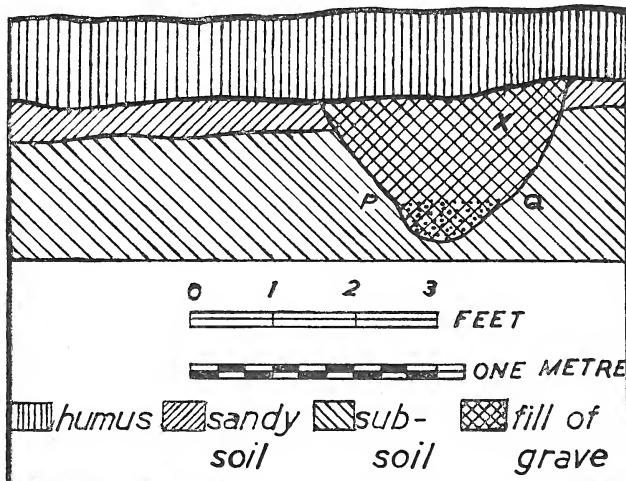


FIG. 1 : SECTION OF GRAVE AT FASSAROE, CO. WICKLOW.
P—Q., UPPERMOST LEVEL OF SKELETON.

secondary chipping (Fig. 2, left). The fill of the grave consisted of the same type of material as in layer I but of a lighter and looser nature.

It is not possible to date the burial with any certainty but the only parallel for the flint knife which was found in the fill of the grave comes from the Dundrum sandhills, Co. Down, where it was found in association with Neolithic pottery of the Beacharra type.² Furthermore the skeletal remains seem to fit in best with

² Rev. L. M. Hewson, "Notes on Irish Sandhills", J.R.S.A.I. lxviii (1938) p. 74, Fig. 5. No reliance can be placed on this association, as the layers of the sandhills are very mixed and objects of many different dates tend to come together—ED.

the Neolithic series so that the burial may date from that period. Also we understand that such a dating would not be in conflict with geological evidence which suggests that the area was never heavily forested and hence would be an attractive site for early man.

To Mr. Liam Price, D.J., to the Gárdá Síochána, Bray, and to Mr. Rothery, the owner of the quarry, who gave us every help during the excavation, we offer our sincere thanks.

The finds have been deposited in the National Museum (Reg. Nes. 1943 : 316-320).

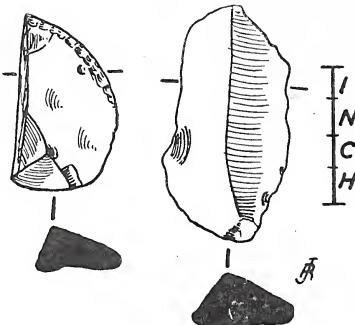


FIG. 2 : TWO FLINTS FROM GRAVE AT FASSAROE.

II.—REPORT ON HUMAN SKELETAL REMAINS FOUND AT FASSAROE, CO. WICKLOW.

By E. KEENAN, M.D.

The skeleton, which was uncovered at Fassaroe, Co. Wicklow, in the circumstances described above, was, was brought to me by one of the excavators.

Eighteen pieces of the cranium were received which on fitting together did not give a complete specimen. The mandible was in three pieces, of which two were quite large and included almost the entire bone—the fracture having occurred on the right side of the symphysis mentis. The right coronoid process was missing. The left condyle, though broken off, was present and fitted easily.



FIG. 1: NORMA LATERALIS OF THE LARGEST SINGLE FRAGMENT OF THE FASSAROE CRANUM; FIG. 2: NORMA VERTICALIS OF THE SAME FRAGMENT; FIG. 3: NORMA OCCIPITALIS OF SAME FRAGMENT, WITH LEFT TEMPORAL BONE ATTACHED.

into place. Twelve of the lower teeth were present—the premolars and molars of the right side, while only the second molar of the left side was missing.

Of the vertebrae and ribs only small fragments of a few of each were present.

Of the upper limb bones the left humerus and a small fragment of the left scapula were present. The left humerus was the most complete of the long bones and, although the front of the bone above, and the lateral part of the lower end were broken, the length of the bone could be fairly accurately measured. This is the only bone present from which an estimate of the stature could be made.

Of the lower limb bones, the lower part of the shaft of the left femur, from which the condyles were missing, parts of both tibiae with the upper ends broken off—in the case of the right a short distance above the nutrient foramen—and both tali were present. All these bones were very much eroded.

The bones are those of a single individual—a female of about thirty-five years of age, of small stature (estimated by Pearson's formula¹ from the length of the humerus the stature was approximately five feet), and of slight muscular development. There is no evidence of antemortem injury or disease in the bones, except in those forming the left temporo-mandibular joint, in which arthritic changes were present. The teeth are quite sound and were all present in the fragments recovered, at the time of death.

The largest fragment of the cranium included the complete left parietal bone, the portion of the right parietal adjoining the sagittal suture, the left half of the frontal bone, with a small part of the right half, and a small part of the left side of the occipital bone.

Pl. XIV, Figs. 1, 2 and 3 are photographs of this fragment from the lateral, superior and posterior aspects respectively. This large fragment was important as the starting point in the reconstruction of the cranium. The other available fragments with the exception of those of the face fitted fairly easily on to it. When the fragments were fitted together the left side of the cranium (except the face region) was fairly complete. Sufficient of the occipital, the sphenoid, and the right temporal bones were present to enable a reconstruction of the base to be made (with the exception of the posterior boundary of the foramen magnum).

Pl. XV, 1, 2 and XVI, 1, 2 are photographs of the reconstructed specimen from the anterior, lateral, superior and posterior aspects respectively.

¹ *Trans. Roy. Soc.*, 1893, p. 192.

The specimen was, as near as it was possible to judge, in the Frankfurt plane. The absence of the lower borders of the orbits made it impossible to be absolutely sure that all photographs were made in this plane.

It was not possible to reconstruct the face with a reasonable degree of accuracy, even though fragments of both maxillae and a part of the left zygomatic bone were present. The alveolar process of the left maxilla was practically complete. It included all the teeth at the time of death. The central incisor and the second premolar were not recovered. On the right side the sockets for all the teeth as far back as the first molar were intact but only the premolars and first molar teeth were recovered.

Table 1. DIMENSIONS AND INDICES OF THE FASSAROE SKULL AND STATURE.

Maximum length (Glabella) ...	... 185 mm.
" " (Ophryon) ...	... 185 "
" parietal breadth ...	... 134 " (e)
Interangular frontal breadth ...	... 110 " (e)
Biasterion breadth ...	... 112 " (r)
Bistephanic breadth ...	... 124 " (e)
External bimastoid breadth ...	... 117 " (r)
Basi-bregmatic height ...	... 135 " (r)
Horizontal circumference ...	... 520 " (r)
Auriculo-bregmatic height ...	... 115 " (r)
Auriculo-bregmatic arc ...	... 308 " (e)
Forehead arc ...	... 112 "
Frontal cord ...	... 113 "
Frontal arc ...	... 130 "
Parietal cord ...	... 109 "
Parietal arc ...	... 120 "
Mandible, height of ramus, Rt. side ...	... 65 "
" width of ramus, Lt. " ...	... 62 "
" width of ramus, Lt. " ...	... 33·5 "
" Height of symphysis ...	... 32 "
" Thickness " " ...	... 12 "
" angle of " " ...	... 118° "
" length of ramus ...	... 72 mm.
Teeth, molar and premolar length ...	... 33·5 "
Cranial Index ...	... 72·2 "
" breadth-height Index ...	... 100·7 "
" capacity ...	... 142·9 ccs.
Stature ...	... 5 feet.

In Table 1 are given only such measurements as it is considered a fair degree of accuracy could be assured. Of these only a few could be made directly on unaltered parts. The other measurements were made on parts built up from the available fragments or estimated from what could be made on the more complete left side of the cranium. Measurements made on reconstructed parts are marked (r) and those estimated from one side are marked (e).

A few measurements of the mandible are given but owing to

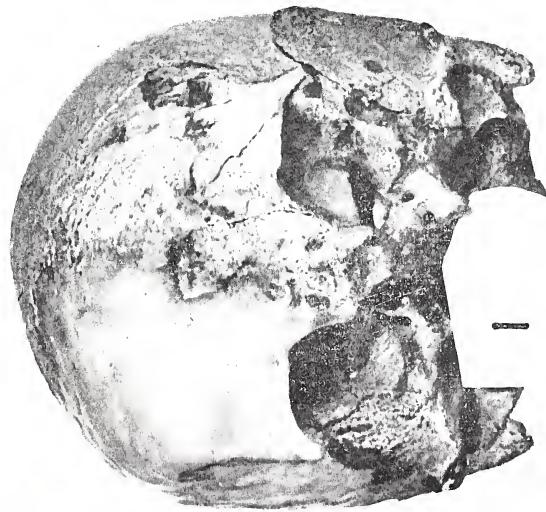


FIG. 1 : NORMA FACIALIS OF THE RECONSTRUCTED PASSAROE CRANUM ; FIG. 2 : NORMA LATERALIS OF THE PASSAROE CRANUM.

the diseased condition of the bones forming the left temporo-mandibular joint and to the presence of marked asymmetry between the two sides which may be to a large extent of antemortem origin it is not considered that the mandible yields much useful information. It was found impossible to get proper occlusion between the teeth in the upper jaw fragments and those in the mandible.

The teeth show evidence of edge to edge bite with a moderate degree of wear.

The left humerus was the most complete of the long bones, but as already stated the front of the upper portion (as far down as the deltoid eminence) and the lateral part of the lower end were broken. The bone measured 284 mm., which indicates a stature in the region of five feet. The bone, as in the case of the other fragments present, is of slender build with slight muscular markings.

The fragments of the femur and tibiae are very much eroded. The platycnemic index estimated from the fragment of the right tibia is 62. Small facets are present on the fronts of the lower ends of both tibiae but these facets are separated by well defined borders from the facets on the distal end and probably are not true squatting facets.

Both tali show considerable erosion. It is not possible to measure the angle of inversion of the head accurately, but a considerable degree of inversion appears to be present. The right talus measures 52mm. in length and 37.5mm. in width. The left measures 51mm. in length and 37mm. in width. The bones show those characters that are associated with an ankle joint having a wide range of movement and which are so prominently seen in ancient tali, namely, a high degree of convexity of the upper articular facet, extention of the facet for the medial malleolus far forward towards the head, and a marked concavity from above downwards in the facet for the lateral malleolus.

The archaeological evidence for dating these remains is not at all definite as can be seen from the report of Messrs. MacWhite and O'Rourke. The flint knife found in association with the remains they believe to be of neolithic type. It is not possible for the anthropologist to date the skeleton of a single individual on physical characters alone, and especially in view of the fact that our knowledge of the anthropological types belonging to the different ages in Ireland is very far from being complete.

There does not appear to be much doubt that these remains are not of recent date, and it may be interesting to attempt to correlate the physical characters that they show with those of finds

already fairly well authenticated and described, while not stating, of course, that they necessarily belong or do not belong to any particular period. For this purpose the cranium offers the best medium of comparison.

As already stated the figures given for the cranium under review, with a few exceptions, were got from measurements of reconstructed parts or were estimated from measurements made on the left side. Only those measurements, which, it is believed, can reasonably be relied on are used. It is, therefore, not possible to make a comparison with many of the measurements made on other specimens. Though all such measurements as could be relied on are compared with similar measurements available for other specimens.

Table 2. COMPARISON BETWEEN FASSAROE CRANUM, BRITISH NEOLITHIC AND IRISH FEMALE CRANIA OF DIFFERENT AGES.

	Fassaroe	British Neolithic	Irish Neolithic(4)	Early Irish Bronze (8)	Late Irish Bronze (3)	Irish Iron (3)	Irish Modern (25)
Cranial capacity Glabella-Ocipital length	1429ccs. 185mm.	1452-5ccs. 183-5mm.	1448-6ccs. 182-5mm.	1425ccs. 177-6mm	1394-8ccs. 177-6mm	1396-2ccs. 177-6mm.	1362-9ccs. 181-1mm.
Ophryo-Ocipital length ..	185 "	186-5 "	179-5 "	177-1 "	179-0 "	177-1 "	180-5 "
Maximum parietal breadth ..	134 "	135-7 "	140-5 "	141-2 "	140-6 "	140-3 "	136-4 "
Bast-Bregma Height ..	135 "	137-5 "	133-3 "	133-6 "	130-8 "	131-3 "	128-7 "
Aur culo-Bregma Height	115 ,	115-5 ,					
Horizontal Circumference	520 "	520-4 "	512-2 "	511-8 "	513-0 "	504-0 "	504-8 "
Frontal arch ..	130 "	125-4 "	127-7 "	124-2 "	124-3 "	121-3 "	125-5 "
Parietal arch ..	120 "	128-4 "	131-2 "	124-6 "	131-3 "	124-0 "	126-2 "
Cranial Index	72-2	72-8	76-9	79-6	79-1	78-9	75-4
Cranial breadth-height Index	100-7	101-3	95	94-6	93	93-6	95-3
Stature ..	5ft.	5ft. lins.					

In Table 2 is given a comparison between the Fassaroe cranium, the British Neolithic female as worked out by Cameron² on more ample material than we have available in Ireland, and female crania from various periods in Ireland as summarized by P. C. Martin in his work on prehistoric man in Ireland. The Neolithic crania only of Britain are included in Table 2 as Cameron had no female crania available from the Bronze age, and the crania of the later periods differed too much from that of the Fassaroe specimen to merit their inclusion. The figures given under the various headings are the averages for the female crania. The

² Cameron, *The Skeleton of British Neolithic Man.*



FIG. 1: NORMA VERTICALIS OF THE RECONSTRUCTED FASSAROE CRANUM.



FIG. 2: NORMA OCCIPITALIS OF THE FASSAROE CRANUM.

figures in brackets after the Irish periods indicate the number of specimens available in each case.

It can be seen from the table that the Fassaroe cranium approaches most closely in all the measurements available to the average of the British female crania. In fact it is rather remarkable how closely the various figures correspond in this necessarily limited comparison. The Fassaroe cranium is a little smaller in size than the average British Neolithic female, and this is reflected in most of the measurements. The stature of the Fassaroe female is a little below the average British stature which may account for the slightly smaller cranium.

Comparisons between the frontal arcs, or between the parietal arcs, of different crania do not of themselves yield much useful information. Unfortunately the total nasion-opisthion arc could not be measured in the Fassaroe cranium as the posterior border of the foramen magnum could not be defined. Further, an interparietal bone is present at lambda.

One character is present in the Fassaroe cranium, in which it corresponds closely with the British Neolithic, and to which writers on ancient skulls attribute some significance, namely, that the basi-bregmatic height exceeds the maximum parietal width. This is the tendency in Stone Age crania generally, whereas in crania of later periods the basi-bregmatic height is usually significantly less than the maximum parietal width. In crania of the Iron Age the basi-bregmatic height tends to be considerably lower than the maximum parietal width. The relationships expressed as an index is usually given as $\frac{\text{Width} \times 100}{\text{Height}}$; I have

given it as $\frac{\text{Height} \times 100}{\text{Width}}$, following Martin. Expressed in this

latter way an index over 100 means a greater basi-bregmatic height than maximum parietal width and vice versa.

Table 3. BREADTH-HEIGHT INDICES ($\frac{\text{H} \times 100}{\text{W}}$) OF BRITISH FEMALE CRANIA (CONVERTED FROM CAMERON'S TABLE).

	Indices.
English and Scottish Neolithic Age	101.3
English and Scottish Iron Age	92.85
Anglo-Saxon (5th-10th centuries)	94.6
Whitechapel English (17th century)	92.16
Scottish (17th-19th centuries)	91.32

Table 3 (converted to $\frac{\text{H} \times 100}{\text{W}}$) gives Cameron's averages for this index in female crania of different periods in Britain.

The Fassaroe cranium does not approximate as nearly to the average of crania in any of the Irish Ages as it does to the British Neolithic.

While it is outside the scope of this report to give any kind of critical survey of the characters of the female crania in the Irish series it may be pointed out that the Irish Neolithic consists of only four specimens, and these are of Megalithic people—no female of an earlier period being listed. The crania of the Raised Beach period listed by Martin correspond much more closely with those of the Neolithic people described by Cameron than do the Megalithic but as the sex of these is not given they are not used for comparison here.

It will be noted that the averages of the Irish Neolithic crania listed, while of approximately the same capacity and length, are considerably broader and lower. The cranial index is therefore higher—the crania are in the mesaticephalic instead of in the dolicocephalic group—and the breadth-height index much lower. It is in fact remarkably low for crania from this period (see Table 3). The horizontal circumference is somewhat lower than in the Fassaroe specimen.

A comparison with crania of the later periods, however, shows a still greater divergence. The Early Bronze Age crania are on the average shorter, broader and lower with a smaller horizontal circumference. The Late Bronze Age is still lower—somewhat like the Iron Age crania, though with a larger horizontal circumference.

The modern Irish tend to be longer, narrower and even less high than those of the earlier periods. These changes are reflected in a diminished cranial capacity and in an alteration of the cranial and breadth-height indices.

As the number of specimens on which these averages have been estimated is very small (see Table 2) too much significance should not be attached to them.

Pl.xv: 2, further, illustrates the similarity that exists between the Fassaroe and the British Neolithic crania. The characteristic occipital boss is very obvious here.

It is possible that the Fassaroe specimen has not the same degree of post orbital narrowing, or frontal "waisting," as that described in British Neolithic crania Pl.xvi: 1 but as no reliable measurements could be made this is only conjecture.

THE BANN FLAKE OUTSIDE THE BANN VALLEY.

By JOSEPH Raftery, Member,

THE River Bann runs in a flat valley which is now covered to a depth of about 4 feet by a deposit of grey clay known as diatomite. This derives its name from the fact that it is composed of diatoms, which are small fresh-water algae. The clay is now commercially important as it is exploited for the production of insulators for electrical equipment. But for many years it has had its own importance in the archaeological world,

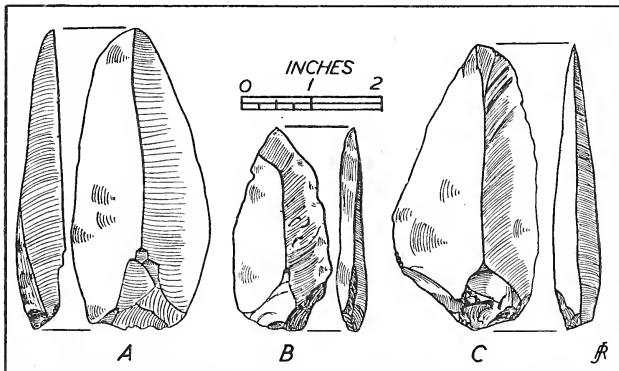


FIG. I : BANN FLAKES. A : CHERT, FROM MAHANAGH, CO. LEITRIM ;
B : CHERT, LOUGH GUR, CO. LIMERICK ; C : FLINT, DERRY-SHERIDAN, CO. MEATH.

in that there have been found stratified in it great numbers of flint blades known as Bann flakes or points. Over 70 years ago they were first brought to scientific notice by Sir John Evans, and since then a considerable amount has been written about them.

In 1930 Mr. Blake Whelan of Belfast showed that the main

concentration of flakes was at the base of the diatomite, and in 1934 Dr. Jessen of Copenhagen, who carried out a pollenanalytical examination of the diatomite at Newferry, Co. Derry, and Dr. Hallam Movius of Harvard, U.S.A., confirmed Mr. Whelan's findings and showed that the horizon or level at which the concentration took place was to be dated to the intervening climatic phase between what is known as the Late Atlantic and the Early Sub-boreal Periods (that is, to about 2500 B.C.) ; and Dr. Movius, on archaeological grounds, showed that the remains discovered in the diatomite at Newferry belonged to the full Neolithic Period of about the same date.

The Bann Point is a simple pointed flake with very little re-working, except at the butt, which is usually chipped to form a rudimentary tang ; the edges are quite sharp and the flake is characterised by its shape, by the slightly curving mid-rib on the back and by the tang. The function of these artefacts is not certainly established. One, from the Bann at Culbane, Co. Derry, was found to have been provided with a moss handle, indicating its use as a knife or small dagger. On the other hand Dr. Movius at Newferry found all his specimens unmounted but placed in such juxtaposition in the diatomite that he considered them to have formed the prongs of fishing spears. It is likely that they served many functions as they are very numerous and are the only implements of flint found in the Bann Valley itself. The flakes have been so characteristic of the flint industry of the Bann Valley that the description "Bann River Culture" has been used quite commonly, though with doubtful justification. Apart from the flakes themselves the amount of material which might be included in the "culture" is exceedingly limited, and what there is belongs to the general Neolithic culture which, with several local variations, was spread across western Europe from about 2500 B.C. onwards. The Bann Valley Culture might then be looked upon rather as a local aspect of the general Western Neolithic culture than as a distinct culture in itself.

Heretofore this culture, if we may continue to use the term for convenience's sake, was known only from the Bann Valley. But in 1935 Dr. Clark of Cambridge drew attention to the fact that, outside Ireland, the only other place in which it was represented was in the Isle of Man.¹ There Bann points have been reported from a total of 21 sites, all of them coastal and most of them on the eastern littoral, that which faces Ireland. He suggests, quite plausibly, that the flakes reached Man by sea from Ireland, that is, that there

¹ *Proc. Prehistoric Society N.S. 1, 1935, 74 f. and Fig. 5.*

IRELAND

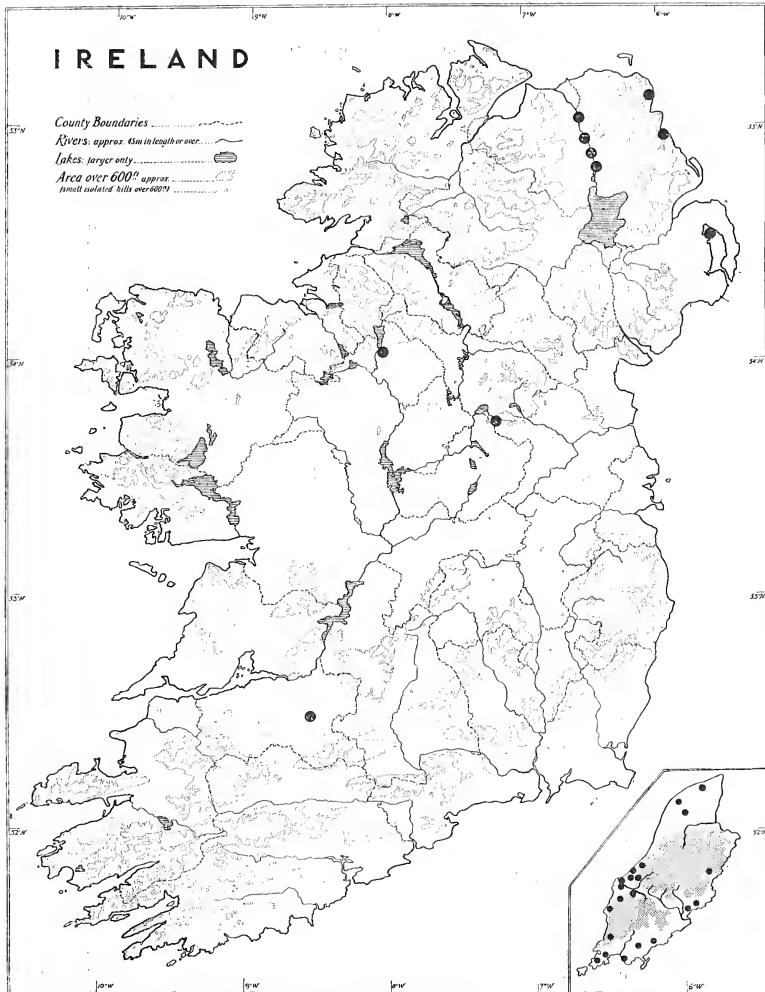


FIG. 2 : DISTRIBUTION OF BANN FLAKES IN IRELAND AND (INSET) THE ISLE OF MAN.
[Manx distribution after Clark].

was at that time (c. 2500 B.C.) no land bridge between the two islands.

In Ireland similar ideas prevailed; but Dr. Movis discovered typical Bann flakes during his excavations at costal sites such as Cushendun, Co. Antrim, and Rough Island, Co. Down; and he furthermore showed that this flake had its roots in the flint industries of the earlier Mesolithic cultures of the country, and explained the occurrence of similar tanged flakes during the Mesolithic Period in the Baltic region as being due to convergence, *i.e.*, to a similar reaction to similar circumstances. There was, in his opinion, no definite cultural connection between the two areas. It seems, certain, however, that there were definite cultural connections between Ireland and the Baltic area generally in the full Neolithic Period, and there is no reason to suppose that contacts of some sort were completely absent in the earlier stage of the Stone Age, when the impulse to fabricate flints of the Bann Valley type might have been instigated from some of the lithic cultural areas of the Norwegian coast; for at that time it is certain that the lines of influence were from east to west and not from west to east.

The Bann Valley culture (so called from the flake evidence alone) was much more widespread in the country than even Dr. Movis suspected, for three examples of the group have recently come to light in areas far removed from that river (Fig. 1). The first (Fig. 1: A) was found in Lough Allen at Mahanagh near Drumshambo, Co. Leitrim (National Museum, Reg. No. 1942: 1), and is peculiar in that it is made of chert. It is 10·9 cm. long and 5 cm. in maximum width. From the high shore above Lough Gur in Co. Limerick comes the second specimen (Fig. 1: B), also of chert. It was discovered by Mr. John Hunt and generously presented by him to the National Museum (Reg. No. 1943: 329). It is 7·4 cm. long and 3·6 cm. in greatest width. The third example is of flint, and was probably exported from the N.E. It is 10·3 cm. long and 5·3 cm. wide and was found in 1943 in a bog at Derrysheridan, Co. Meath. I am grateful to Mr. Terence Gray, whose the flake is, for permission to publish this specimen.

The first two sites are the normal river or lake sites commonly associated with the Bann flake in its homeland proper, but the material of which they are made, chert, indicates that the use to which the flakes were put must have been such that they were considered worthy of copying by other peoples in other areas in which flint did not naturally occur. The Derrysheridan flake might have come from a dried-up lake site, though as this is not

THE BANN FLAKE OUTSIDE THE BANN VALLEY 159

certain the possibility must always be considered that the flakes, hafted as knives, might also have been used as hunting daggers.

Whatever the function of the Bann Flake (and it must have been somewhat specialised to judge by the standardisation of pattern) it cannot be taken as defining a culture any more than can, say, a socketed bronze knife of the Late Bronze Age. It is simply a tool made for particular purposes and as yet mainly represented in the Bann Valley. Its distribution beyond that area—in the Isle of Man, on Irish coastal and inland sites—would seem to indicate a spread of the general Neolithic cultural complex from a centre in the North-east of the country.

THE BRONZE SOCKETED GOUGE IN IRELAND.

By EÓIN MACWHITE, B.A., Member.

THE gouge is primarily a woodworker's implement. In form and function it is closely allied to the chisel, but instead of having a straight edge, it has a curved or hollow edge for scooping, for cutting grooves and rounded holes. In Ireland, there are no gouges definitely attested before the Late Bronze Age; a few slightly hollowed-out "chisels" of stone may be earlier though not certainly so, and no examples are known in Early Iron Age or Early Christian contexts. We must suppose either that the work of the gouge was done by other tools or that some organic material like bone was used. It is obvious that bone is not the best material for the purpose, but that such can provide effective tools is shown by the fact that gouges made of human bone were used by the Polynesians in making their canoes.¹

In Ireland the socketed bronze gouge has been more often found in hoards than in single finds. It belongs to the Late Bronze Age and, as we shall see, probably to a period from c. 700 B.C. to c. 175 B.C. The distribution (Fig. 1) shows the type, although not a frequent one, to be well distributed throughout the country, except the West. The heaviest concentration is in the Central Plain east of the Shannon. The scarcity of gouges in the West and their general distribution in the East point to their introduction from the Highland Zone of Britain.²

Before determining the chronological position of the bronze socketed gouge, we must first examine its cultural connections. Mahr³ suggested that its origin was to be sought in the stone gouges of the Nordic province, and in this he has been followed by Raftery⁴ "in that prototypes occur in the Nordic province and nowhere else." These stone gouges⁵ are typical of the Dwelling Place

¹ C. D. Forde, *Habitat, Economy and Society*, 1934, p. 214.

² The Highland Zone, which more or less coincides with the Palaeozoic outcrop, can be taken as north of a line drawn from Teesmouth to Tor Bay. See Sir Cyril Fox, *Personality of Britain*, 4 ed., 1943, p. 29 and Map B.

³ *Proc. Preh. Soc. N.S.*, 3, 1937, 381.

⁴ *North Munster Ant. Journ.*, 3, 1942, 65.

⁵ For a good example of the type see Ebert, *Reallexicon der Vorgeschichte*, X, Taf. 45 h.

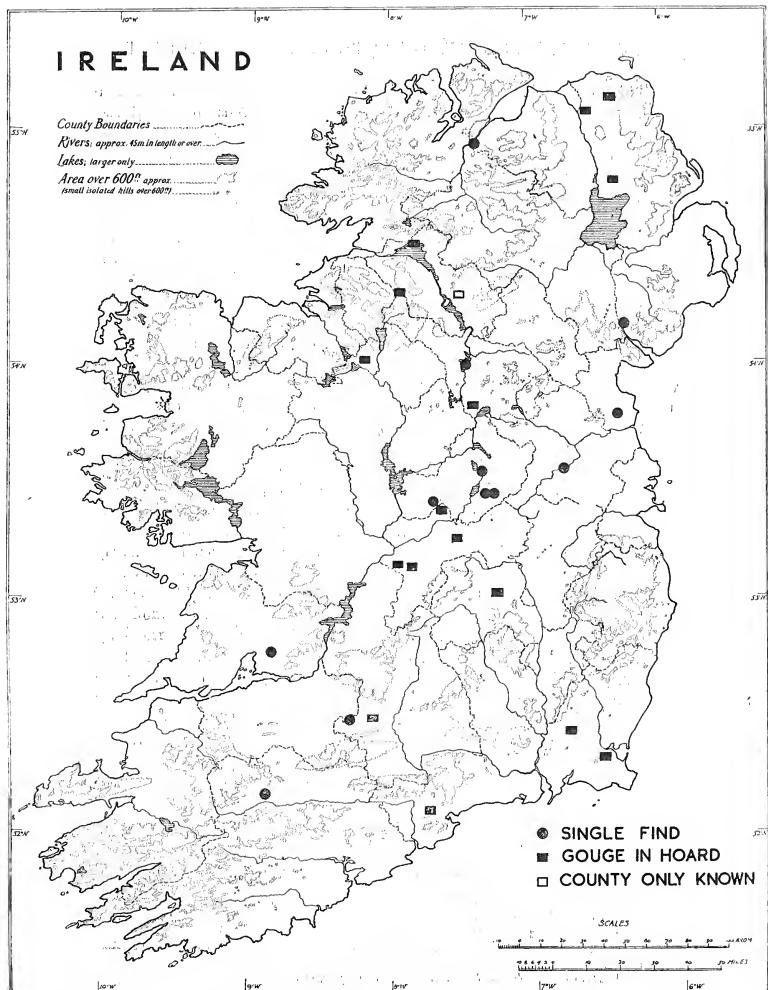


FIG. 1: DISTRIBUTION OF THE SOCKETED BRONZE GOUGE IN IRELAND.

cultures (*Wohnplatz Kultur*) and were borrowed from this source into the megalithic culture of that region. Although material related to the Dwelling Place cultures has been found in Ireland⁶—Riverford clubs, slate spears, net-sinkers and Neolithic B pottery, the chronological hiatus between these Stone Age types and the Late Bronze Age as well as the lack of stone gouges proper, is antagonistic to the theory that the bronze socketed gouge is an Irish mutation of the Nordic stone gouge. In Scandinavia bronze socketed gouges are very rare indeed; so much so that it has been stated⁷ that they are completely lacking there. This, however, is not quite true, as a socketed gouge has since been found in a hoard in the parish of Kjerte, Denmark.⁸ The late date of this find (Montelius V = Sophus Müller 8, c. 700-600 B.C.), should preclude one from seeking it in a Scandinavian mutation of the older stone gouge. Furthermore, if an Irish or Scandinavian origin be supposed, the distribution and frequency of gouges, particularly in Western and West Central Europe, becomes difficult to explain.

Thus it seems evident that we must seek for an alternative prototype and origin for this tool. I would suggest that the bronze socketed gouge had a bone prototype. Déchelette⁹ hinted at a bone prototype, but did not explicitly argue for such. The resemblance of some of the implements described as bone gouges from Early Iron Age sites in England (e.g. all Cannings Cross (Fig. 2A), Glastonbury, Maiden Castle) to the bronze type are very close. Th. Ischer¹⁰ takes the stone gouges from the Swiss Lake Dwellings to be modelled on the bronze type, but it should be pointed out that the long V-shaped hollowing found on these, on the Scandinavian stone gouges and on the bronze gouges is more natural to bone than stone¹¹ or bronze. Unfortunately early bone gouges are so far lacking.¹² But as bone is not as indestructible as stone and as single finds of bone gouges would most likely be thrown away, even if picked up by the finder, it is possible that the gap is more

⁶ Mahr, *op. cit.*, 283 ff.; Raftery, *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, 5, 1942, 121-2.

⁷ Déchelette, *Manuel*, II, 272; Evans, *Ancient Bronze Implements*, p. 173.

⁸ Kjaer, *Mem. Soc. Ant. du Nord*, 1927, 231 ff.

⁹ *Manuel*, II, 272. His statement is "Des gouges en bronze représentées dans les dépôts et les palafittes, remplacent les gouges en os, en bois de cervidé ou en pierre poli."

¹⁰ *Pfahlbau des Bielersees*, 1928, p. 119, n. 25. I am indebted to Prof. S. P. Ó Riordáin for this reference.

¹¹ Contrast, for example, the neolithic gouges of Iberia, e.g., the specimen from El Garcel, Childe, *Dawn of European Civilization*, 3rd ed., 1939, p. 222, Fig. 123, No. 1.

¹² Déchelette *loc. cit.*, mentions bone gouges.

apparent than real. It should also be remembered that most of the bone work of the British Early Iron Age can be traced back to the Mesolithic Period,¹³ even though there are occasional gaps.

This suggests the possibility of an ultimate Mesolithic origin. If this is so, the resemblance of the bronze gouges to the stone gouges might be interpreted as convergence. It has often been

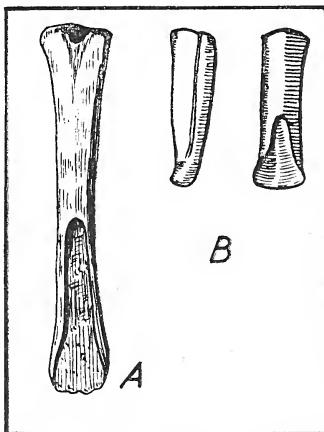


FIG. 2 : A—BONE GOUGE-LIKE OBJECT FROM ALL CANNINGS CROSS (after Cunningham). B—A LATE TYPE OF BRONZE GOUGE FROM KNOCKNALAPPA CRANNÓG, CO. CLARE (after Mahr).

pointed out¹⁴ that the Dwelling Place equipment is, in the main, a translation from bone into stone. Prof. Childe¹⁵ has further suggested that the stone gouge originated in the Maglemose antler

¹³ Compare, for instance, the bone work at Skara Brae. Childe, *Skara Brae*, 1931, pp. 115-27, has adduced parallels for most types ranging from the Mesolithic to the Iron Age. Cf. also a non-socketed net pricker in the Heathery Burn Cave. Clarke, *Mesolithic Settlement of Northern Europe*, 1936, pp. 114-5.

¹⁴ Childe, *Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst.*, 61, 1931, 344 ff. Shetelig & Falk, *Scandinavian Archaeology*, 1937, 78-9.

¹⁵ Childe, *Dawn*, p. 196.

chisel.¹⁶ While this is probably correct for the larger examples, it is perhaps better, so far as the smaller type with which we are here dealing, to seek a prototype in the socketed *nästtikor*¹⁷ of the same culture. Although usually interpreted as net-prickers, the use of the type is, as Clark says, problematical.

We now come to the question as to the place of origin of the bronze gouge and its cultural connections. We can omit the Mediterranean area as it is lacking there.¹⁸ Gouges are extremely common in the Swiss Lake Dwellings, and it is possibly here that the type originated. The Mesolithic heritage¹⁹ of the Swiss Lake Dwellings would provide the prototype, and the technical excellence and ingenuity of the bronze-smiths there would translate it into bronze. The diffusion of the socketed gouge apparently coincided with that of winged axes, carp's tongue swords and other objects generally referred to as the "Carp's Tongue Sword Complex,"²⁰ which has its origin in the Swiss Lake Dwellings. Grimes²¹ considers that the Welsh gouges were introduced by, or borrowed from, the Carp's Tongue Sword complex, and this explanation suits the Irish evidence well, both of association and of distribution. Two periods are now generally recognized in the British Bronze Age,²² Late Bronze Age 1 being represented by the introduction of new types, such as the socketed axe, the leaf shaped spear, etc., and the Late Bronze Age 2 by the Carp's Tongue sword complex, which is thus a later addition to, and not the initiation of the Late Bronze Age in Britain as Evans once thought. The arrival of these elements into Lowland Britain is now placed at c.750 B.C. Many elements of this group were borrowed or "absorbed" into the Highland Zone, e.g., the Carp's Tongue sword or perhaps the closely-allied Wilburton Fen sword became the native V-sword with ricasso.²³ The Irish Late Bronze Age sequence was strictly parallel, Late Bronze Age A1 illustrating the arrival of new types and Late Bronze Age A2 the arrival of types from the Highland Zone of Britain,²⁴ most of which represent absorptions of types

¹⁶ For these see Clark, *op. cit.*, 114-5, and Fig. 59, No. 3, Fig. 62, No. 3.

¹⁷ Déchelette, *op. cit.*, 273, can only record an example in the Bologna find (c. 700 B.C.).

¹⁸ Childe, *Danube in Prehistory*, 1929, 356.

¹⁹ For which see E. E. Evans, *Antiquity*, 4, 1930, 157-72, *Man*, 31, 1931 : 209.

²⁰ *Guide to the Collection Illustrating the Prehistory of Wales*, Cardiff, 1939, p. 79.

²¹ *Proc. Preh. Soc. N.S.* 1, 1935, 57-9.

²² Cowen, *Arch. Ach.*, 4s, 10, 1933, 185-98.

²³ The Irish chronology is based on an extensive study of the British and Irish hoards of the period, which has been carried out by the writer.

of the British Lowland Zone Late Bronze Age 2. This Late Bronze Age A2 is probably to be dated as beginning c. 700 B.C. A further sub-period of the Late Bronze Age, which has only left slight traces in the Highland Zone of Britain,²⁴ must be distinguished in Ireland, Late Bronze Age B, in which all the elements of Phase A2 continue, but under strong Nordic and Hallstatt influences. Scandinavian synchronisms give a correlation with Montelius VI= Sophus Müller 9 and hence we get c. 600 B.C as the initial date of this Phase, which ended with the establishment of the Early Iron Age culture in the country c. 175 B.C.²⁵ onwards.

On the above chronological scheme the gouge was introduced in Phase A2 and lasted throughout Phase B. Although the gouge cannot be described as a "sensitive"²⁶ type, it does exhibit some variation. One or two varieties which are purely Irish can be restricted to Phase B. Thus the variety represented by the Knocknalappa gouge (Fig. 2B), with an expanded cutting edge forming an "ear" at each side, and also with the edge sloped out from the back making an "elbow" when viewed in profile, and sometimes with casting seams down the side, has been found exclusively in Phase B associations.²⁷ Perhaps also a type which has almost parallel sides and is usually quite wide in proportion to its height is to be restricted to this Phase, but the evidence is not yet conclusive.²⁸

²⁴ Childe's "Late Bronze Age 3," *Prehistoric Communities of the British Isles*, 1941, 172.

²⁵ Raftery's Iron Age II. See *Féilsgribhinn Bóin Mhic Néill*, 272-81.

²⁶ Liable to frequent typological change, as for instance fibulae.

²⁷ Cromaghs, Co. Antrim, with a Hallstatt razor. *P.R.I.A.*, xxvi, C, 119-24; Bootown, Co. Antrim, with a large ring threaded by a smaller ring (a type derived from a late Hallstatt ornament). N.M.D. 20/11/29; Boa Island, Co. Fermanagh, with a probable late type of socketed axe. *P.R.I.A.*, xxxvi, C, 148; Knocknalappa Crannóg, dated late in this phase, *N.M.A.J.* 3, 1942; Ballinderry, Co. Westmeath, with hollow bronze rings, etc., N.M.D. 1944.

²⁸ It is so far known from only two associated finds, the Dowris (*P.R.I.A.* xxxvi, c, 134-42), and Ballinderry hoards (N.M.D., 1944).

MISCELLANEA

A Long Stone Cist in Co. Wicklow.

During ploughing operations on March 2nd this year, Mr. Richard Brady¹ discovered a stone-lined grave on his lands at Tinnapark Demesne, Parish of Kilcoole, Barony of Newcastle, Co. Wicklow.² It lay, between 5 and 10 cm. below the surface, on the side of a low hill (c. 400 ft. O.D.), and its side stones were partly sunk in the natural gravel of the hillside. The total outer measurements of the grave were 2·10 m. long and 58 cm. wide, while the internal dimensions were 1·70 m. long by 47 cm. wide. It thus conforms in size to the very large group technically known as Long Stone Cists. Of the example under discussion the sides were each formed of three large slabs and these, like all the stones of the grave, were of the local Cambrian slate formations.³ The western end was closed by a single thin slab (Plan, Fig. 1), but the eastern side was only partially closed, a small boulder being placed against the northern side of the cist, and as the section shows (Fig. 1), attaining only half the height of the side-stone of the grave. The covering consisted of a number of small thin slabs, placed each in a sloping position, and each overlapping its neighbour (Section, Fig. 1, Pl. XVII : 1). The grave was orientated exactly east and west, and when the capstones were removed the skeleton was discovered to have been extended on its back with the head in the western end of the cist, facing east. The body must have been squeezed into position in the grave when it was interred with its complement of flesh, as when discovered the edges of the ends of the humeri were found to be slightly crushed by the side-stones of the grave. There does not appear to have been any particular reason for the very narrow size of the cist, but it is

¹ The thanks of the National Museum are due to Mr. Brady for his prompt reporting of the discovery; and great assistance was rendered by Gárdá Charles O'Hara of Greystones Station. The writer visited the site as soon as possible on behalf of the Museum, but it was found that on discovery some of the capstones had slipped into the grave, breaking the skull and other portions of the skeleton.

² O.S. 6" Wicklow, Sheet 13, 11·6 cm. E., 27·9 cm. S.

³ For this information I am grateful to Mr. F. J. Duffy of the Geological Survey.

possible that those who originally built such worked to a uniform plan whereby the graves had to conform to a certain standard.

The hands were placed along the side of the body and the legs were extended at full length, one beside the other (Pl. XVII : 2). The feet rested against the small stone at the eastern end of the cist.

No objects were discovered with the skeleton, which rested on the gravel ; and though this was excavated to a considerable depth below the level of the body, no objects were discovered.

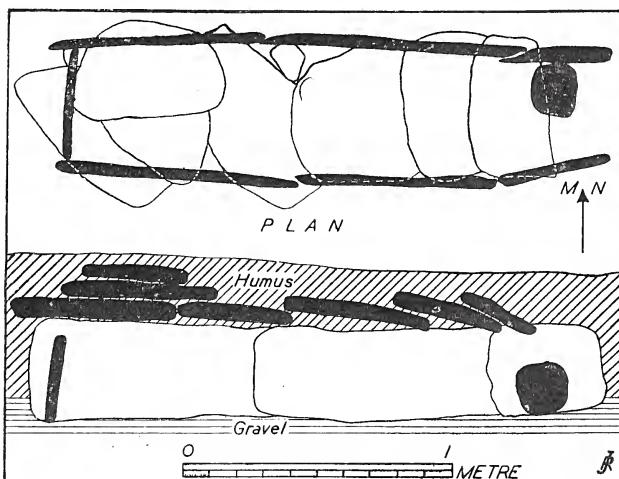


FIG. 1 : LONG STONE CIST AT TINNAPARK DEMESNE, DELGANY,
Co. WICKLOW.

In all essential details this burial conforms to the normal Long Stone Cist type. Elsewhere I have suggested that the vast majority must belong to pre-Christian times, and it may not be out of place here to summarise briefly the points put forward.⁴ Heretofore it has been customary to accept all such graves as being of the Early Christian Period, though so far as I am aware no evidence

⁴ P.R.I.A. 46, C, 1941, 299-315.

for such a dating was forthcoming other than a rather vague alleged connection with ecclesiastical sites. The evidence in favour of a pagan (and thus most probably Early Iron Age) dating is to a large degree negative, but there are certain pieces of positive evidence which make possible the suggestion of the earlier dating. Most important of these are the facts that such burials are most usually in sandhills or eiscirs, in sand dunes by the sea or in flat fields without any distinguishing marks; that they usually occur singly or in pairs, very rarely in greater numbers; that cremation is occasionally found in them; and that where grave-goods are buried with the skeletons they are such as conform more to a pagan than to a Christian archaeological context.

The suggestion, therefore, that Long Stone Cists as a group may be dated to the pre-Christian Iron Age is rather strong; and they are certainly not of the Bronze Age or earlier periods. The closest parallels to the Irish group occur in Scotland and Norway, where they are dated to the first four centuries of our era. A similar dating may be postulated for the Tinnapark burial.⁵

JOSEPH RAFTERY.

⁵ Mr. Price has very kindly informed me that the field in which the grave was discovered is known as "Synnott's Field," and that the field beside it is called "The Crow Field." This he supposes to be connected possibly with Cró, "a Hut"; in it a bullaun stone of granite was found some time ago, thus indicating ancient settlement within a quarter mile of the burial. There is, however, no evidence as to the date of such settlement.

APPENDIX.

SKELETON FROM THE LONG STONE CIST AT TINNAPARK DEMESNE, CO. WICKLOW. By DR. R. G. INKSTER.

These bones are all of human origin and include pieces from all parts of the body. The right femur, tibia and humerus and the lower jaw are nearly intact. The vault of the skull is damaged, and most of the lower part, including the face, is missing.

The remains are from one male adult, about 5 ft. 8 ins. in height and aged over 23 years, probably over 30 years.

The height was estimated from the femur by means of Pearson's formulae. The opinion on sex is based on the general marking and size of the bones, the proportions of the first piece of the sacrum and the diameter of the head of the femur (48.49 mm.). The age of the individual is indicated by the fusion of the epiphyses, the very considerable wear of the teeth and the condition of the sutures of the skull.

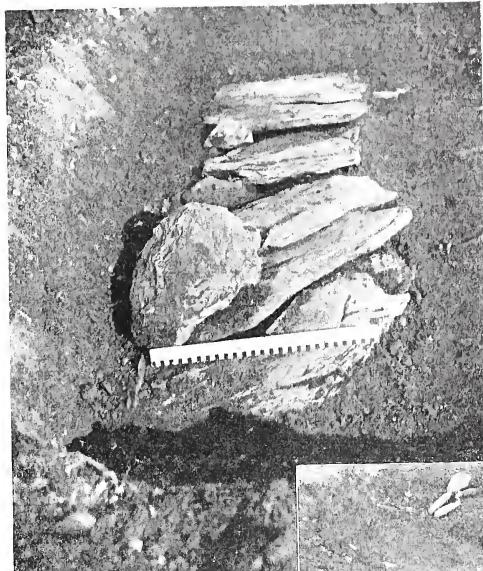


Fig. 1. The grave was discovered some 10 cm. below the surface. It was closed on top by the series of small overlapping capstones here shown. The scale at the near (E.) end is in centimetres.



Fig. 2. On removing the overlapping capstones the grave was found to consist of a narrow shallow stone-lined cavity, in which a skeleton lay extended on its back, with its head to the west and facing east.

The skull appears to have been rather small, with a maximum glabellar length of about 184 mm. and a cephalic index of about 74 to 75, borderline between mesaticephalic and dolichocephalic. The sutures have fused in the interior of the skull with the possible exception of the parietal mastoid region and, except in the lower part of the coronal suture, the sutures on the exterior of the vault are still open.

The lower jaw is, unfortunately, damaged at practically all points from which measurements are usually made. The jaw itself is strong and square in appearance with a rather wide ramus (35 mm. antero posterior breadth) and a medium height of body (26-27 mm.). The teeth are considerably worn, front and back, but there is no evidence of caries or of gum infection. Dr. L. McCaughey reports that "the lower left second premolar is missing and is either unerupted or was lost some months before death. The lower right second *temporary* molar is still present in the arch, and it is possible that the second premolar tooth is impacted or missing on both sides."

Two 18th Century House Furnishing Auction Lists.

Considering the very appreciable amount of space devoted to advertisements of various kinds in the numerous Dublin newspapers of the last three decades of the 18th century, really detailed lists of the contents of houses up for auction occur far less frequently than might be expected. It is mainly for this reason that the following have been transcribed in full, as it was felt that they contained material of fairly general interest. Actually, however, it was the particular items of *Irish carpets* to which attention was first directed, because, as explained by this writer in an article on carpet-making in Ireland, in an earlier issue of this Journal (Vol. LXX, June, 1940, p. 82), although the output in Dublin seems to have been considerable, the definite description of "Irish carpets" rarely appears in inventories and lists. Consequently it is interesting to find them included here in the furnishings of both of Robert Brooke's houses. Moreover, as the designation was then usually applied to the machine-made type similar to the Wilton weave, rather than to the tapestry or hand-knotted varieties, it is likely that Brooke's examples were produced either by John Long, or Samuel Lapham, the two principal makers of "Irish carpets" of the time.

For the rest, it is only necessary to remind readers that the Robert Brooke referred to here was the founder of the magnificent, but regrettably short-lived cotton manufacture at Prosperous, in Co. Kildare. The enterprise, on which he expended a great part of his own fortune, was established in 1782, but it was on such an ambitious scale that even the grant of £25,000 from the Irish Parliament a few years later, was not sufficient to maintain it. A second grant was applied for, and when it was refused in 1786, the whole venture practically collapsed. Brooke himself prepared to go abroad, and as can be seen, arranged for the disposal of the contents of his town and country houses.

Finally it may be noted that as the works at Prosperous included the printing of linen and cotton, or chintz furnishings, it is possible—though certainly not so stated—that some of the curtains and coverings mentioned below, were made there.

Dublin Evening Post, 9 Nov., 1786.

" Robert Brooke, Esq's. Sale.

No. 11, North Cumberland-street.

To be sold by Auction, by order of the Trustees, by Isaac Dezouche Upholder. On Monday the 13th inst. Nov, and the succeeding days.

The entire household furniture, plate, china, paintings and prints, an excellent coach and post-chaise, with harness complete of R. Brooke, Esq.:—the furniture consists of two mahogany four-post beds, with chintz curtains, lined through, other four-post and field ditto with cotton and cheque curtains, and window curtains to match; best seasoned geese feather beds, matrasses, palliases, blankets, Indian and other quilts and counterpanes, oak press bed, and a variety of servant's bedding; 18 fashionable mahogany parlour chairs covered in satin haircloth and two rows of best London gilt nails; 20 elegant oval stuffed back chairs, a sofa and 2 conversation seats with chintz covers and 4 window curtains to match; 12 French chairs with cane seats and backs; elegant inlaid pier tables, 2 Turkey carpets in excellent preservation with green cloth covers, *Irish ditto*; stair carpets and polished rods; 3 mahogany oval dining-tables in sizes, a large side board ditto with O.G. front; library, card, voidore and spider tables, mahogany clothes press, bureaus, tallboys, and nobbies, ditto night tables, basons stands, glass and tea trays, elegant oval pier glasses in gilt frames, dressing ditto in mahogany frames, hall and stair-case bells and shades, moving grates and fire irons, an excellent 8 day clock in mahogany case, deal presses and bottle drainer, a lead cistern, a good jack, a quantity of kitchen furniture.

The plate consists of four pair of candlesticks, a cruet stand, soup ladle, gravy, desert, and tea spoons, a fish trowel, skewers, salvers, etc., a plated coffee urn, ditto bread basket; candlesticks, knives, and forks etc., with a variety of plate and plated goods too tedious to mention; one table service, a tea and coffee equipage, also a variety of useful and ornamental china.

N.B. The carriages will be sold on Monday, the first day of sale, at 2 o'clock. The sale to begin at 12 o'clock each day, and continue until all are sold."

Dublin Evening Post, 24 April 1787.

"Household Furniture by Auction.

Killybegs—Co. Kildare.

To be sold by Auction by order of the Trustees of Robert Brooke, Esq., on Wednesday the 25th of April, and the succeeding days, the genuine Furniture, china, glass, etc., and a very fine Bull, a quantity of Hay, Farming and Dairy Utensils, of Robert Brooke, Esquire's late Dwelling House at Killibeggs, near Prosperous, consisting of four-post and field beds with cotton hangings, a number of seasoned geese feather beds, matrasses, English and Irish blankets, India quilts and counterpanes, fashionable drawing-room and parlour chairs, chintz window curtains, mahogany Northumberland side board, Pembroke, and other tables, ditto clothes press, bureaus with glazed book-cases, and tallboys, pier and dressing glasses, Wilton and *Irish carpets*, painted chairs with cushions and chintz covers, two fowling pieces, a pair of silver mounted pistols and furniture, a good eight day clock and jack, a quantity of kitchen furniture, etc., etc., Sale to begin each day at 12.

Isaac Dezouche, Auctioneer."

ADA K. LONGFIELD (MRS. H. G. LEASK).

Two Prehistoric Burials in Co. Mayo.

I.—LONG STONE CIST.

During agricultural operations in March, 1944, a burial was discovered on the lands of Mr. James O'Higgins in the townland of Aghalahard, Parish of Cong, Barony of Kilmaine, Co. Mayo. The interment had been completely destroyed and removed before the site could be investigated, but the information supplied by Mr. O'Higgins to one of us (A.M.) indicated that

the grave was rectangular, that it was built of four slabs and that it lay only a short distance below the surface. There was no statement as to how it had been covered, but it had contained an extended skeleton, the orientation of which was not noted. None of the bones was recovered, but a tanged iron knife which lay in the grave has been presented to the National Museum by Mr. O'Higgins (Fig. 1 ; Reg. No. 1944 : 214). One animal bone was found with the burial.¹

The knife is a welcome addition to the very meagre number of finds from graves of this class, but as knives of the type here represented continued practically unchanged in form for many centuries it cannot be used as a dating criterion.

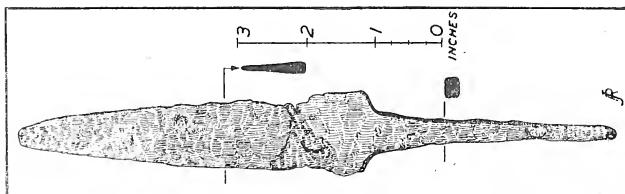


FIG. 1 : TANGED IRON KNIFE FROM LONG STONE CIST AT AGHA-LAHARD, CONG, CO. MAYO.

The burial here under review clearly belongs to the Long Stone Cist group, and as noted above (p. 168) the assumption appears to be justified that it may be dated to the pre-Christian Iron Age.

II.—SHORT CIST.

About 200 yards south of the probable Early Iron Age burial just described, a much smaller grave had been discovered a year previously by Mr. O'Higgins. When uncovered by one of us (A.M.) with the valuable assistance of Mr. Peter Foy, of Cong, who first reported the site to us, it had no capstone and this, combined with the general disorder amongst the skeletal remains, suggested that the burial had been interfered with at an earlier period.

The cist, lying only a few inches below the surface (Fig. 2), was 3 ft. 10 ins. long, 2 ft. 4 ins. wide, and its sides were each formed

¹ We are grateful to Mr. A. W. Stelfox, of the Natural History Division of the National Museum, for the information that it is the metacarpal of an ox.

of a single limestone flag. The cist was filled with black earth, and under it, 15 inches from the surface, lay a quantity of possible animal or human bones. The bones rested on a large flag, broken into three portions (Pl. XVIII : 1), which underlay one of the side stones (Plan, Fig. 2). This stone, when removed, was found to cover several layers of smaller flat pieces of limestone laid horizontally to form a rough paving (Pl. XVIII : 2). This paving rested on undisturbed gravel.

Owing to the disturbed nature of the grave, no information as

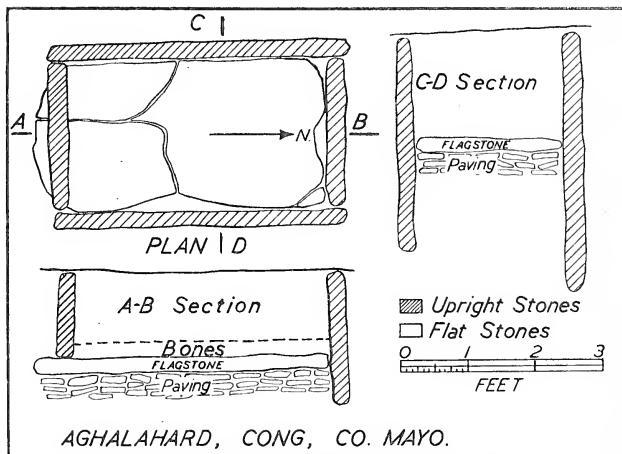


FIG. 2 : SHORT CIST AT AGHALAHARD, CONG, CO. MAYO.

to the original disposition of any human bones was forthcoming; there was no trace of a pottery vessel of any sort, nor is there any tradition in the locality that such had ever been found or removed from the cist.

Mixed amongst the bones in the grave were a few small pieces of charcoal (*Salix-Populus*)² and two fragments of stone axes

² For this information we are indebted to Dr. P. O'Connor, Keeper of the Natural History Division of the National Museum.

(Fig. 3).³ Of one only the pointed butt remained, of the other only the cutting edge. Both are of limestone, formed by roughly shaping natural pebbles. They are interesting in that they conform in technique and shape to the very large series recovered in recent years from river-ford sites in various parts of the country.

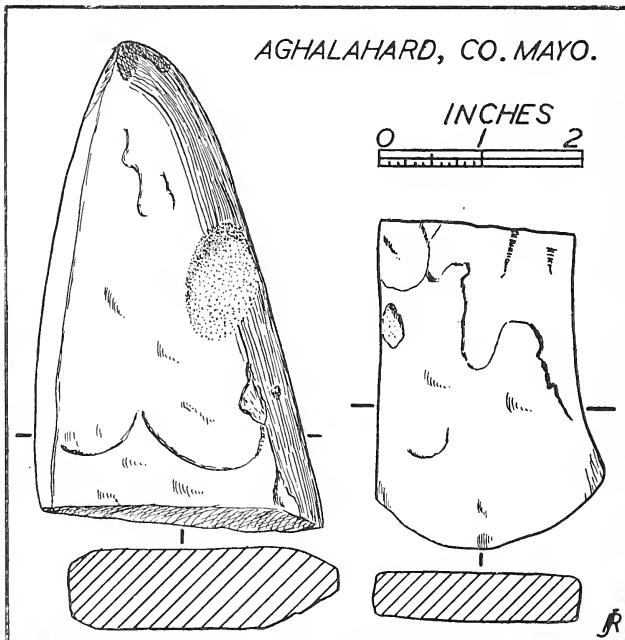


FIG. 3: TWO STONE AXE FRAGMENTS FROM SHORT CIST AT AGHALAHARD, CONG, CO. MAYO.

³ The axes have been donated to the National Museum by Mr. O'Higgins, Reg. Nos. 1944 : 210, 211. Our best thanks are due to Gárdá O'Reilly of Cong Gárdá Station, who was mainly responsible for preserving the stone axes.

The axe on the right in Fig. 3 is particularly reminiscent of an extensive group dredged from the bed of the Shannon at Killaloe, Co. Clare.

Dr. Mahr first drew attention to this special group of stone axes, and he has written at some length on the class, considering it to be characteristic of a Riverford Culture.⁴ No final expression of opinion as to the validity of his arguments has been made until more evidence, particularly as to dating, is forthcoming, and the two axes from the cist at Aghalahard do not, therefore, allow of a close dating for the grave. It thus seems that no closer approximation to the period of its construction can be attained than that it was probably made -during the Bronze Age, *i.e.*, somewhere between 2000 and 250 B.C. Paving is most usually associated with burial of the later stages of the period in Ireland (after 1000 B.C.), but there is as yet not sufficient material available to allow of a definite assertion.

Dr. R. G. Inkster, Trinity College, reports that none of the bones submitted to him for examination is human.

Mr. A. W. Stelfox, Natural History Division, National Museum, reports that the bones recovered from the short cist are those of an ox; as well there are two shells, one of *Helix nemoralis* and one of *Helix aspersa*.

The established facts are thus peculiar. We are dealing with a typical short cist which was well and carefully built and which contained two stone axe fragments, some animal bones and two shells. Although the grave was minutely examined by one of us (A.M.) there was not a single fragment of human bone found; and, even if the grave had been very much disturbed at an earlier period, it seems unlikely that all traces of a human body would have been removed. The grave at its original opening was apparently not examined by a person of scientific tendencies; otherwise a report would have been made; or, if opened by a curious local, a human body would have been of sufficient import to leave its mark on local tradition; if the body had been cremated there would have been the usual folk tradition of ashes. We are thus forced to conclude that no human being was in fact buried in the cist; and it is not possible to state definitely whether the grave was originally dug to hold portion of the remains of a cow, which would be extraordinarily unusual; or whether, as appears more likely, the burial of the person for whom the grave was intended, never took place there. In the light of certain funerary customs of

⁴ *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society N.S.* 3, 1937, 283-331, and Figs. 9 and 10.

the Bronze Age in Ireland it is possible to suggest that the cist was intended for a body which was first buried elsewhere until the flesh decayed ; after which it was intended to raise it and deposit it, either cremated or unburned, in the grave at Aghalahard.

JOSEPH RAFTERY AND ALLETON MOORE.

**Notes on Two Prehistoric Burial Sites in the Townland of Seskin,
Co. Waterford.**

[This note from Miss Isabel Grubb, of Seskin, Carrick-on-Suir, with two rough plans drawn by her, is published in order to draw the attention of archaeologists to the area ; she believes that there are several other structures of this kind in the same neighbourhood, and it would be of interest to have the opinion of an expert as to whether they are worth further investigation or not.—ED.]

On the Carrickbeg hills, a mile and a half to the south west of Carrick-on-Suir, is a group of rocks which appears to form a much dilapidated burial place. It lies at a dip in the crest of the hill at an elevation of 520 feet. All around is moorland. The formation of the natural rock consists of ridges of upturned edges of strata making the protruding backbone of the hill, which runs almost due east and west. These rocks are easily split straight and at right angles.

The group which forms the burial place measures roughly thirty-five feet from north to south and twenty-five from east to west, (Fig. 1). The main "chamber" consists of a box-like structure formed of slabs mostly tilted out of place, and one has fallen into the central hole making the entrance to the space under it too small to permit of examination. These stones measure on an average 4ft. by 2½ ft. by 2ft. To the northeast of this group is a stone 7½ ft. by 6ft. by 2ft. which may have been the capstone. Immediately south of the "chamber" is a piece of apparently unmoved bed rock about 7ft. by 4ft. At a distance of several feet from the central group upright stones form an oval round the whole, with a second line of stones less regular within the outer line. These stones average about 3ft. by 2½ ft. by 2ft., the inner ones being smaller. Some are tilted and some appear to have been smashed. All are much weathered.

East from the "capstone" is a double line of stones about 2ft. high which probably mark an old boundary ; it extends many yards. There are other such lines on the same moorland. Some small stones which are scattered about may have been part of the original covering ; others have probably gone to form a very old boundary wall forty feet to the west. Nearly fifty yards west



Fig. 1. The large flagstone on which the bones rested can be seen at the bottom of the cist. The grass level shows the distance below the surface of the side-stones. There was no capstone.



Fig. 2. When the flagstone shown in Fig. 1 was removed the rough paving here illustrated was discovered. This paving rested on undisturbed subsoil.

of this group is a monolith, uninscribed, seven feet high. Nothing is known of its ancient history, but during the Smith O'Brien rising in 1848 (which took place a few miles away across the Suir valley) this stone was a gathering place for the drilling of insurgents and was known as the Rendezvous Stone.

About a mile west from this burial site, also in Seskin townland, is a small farm hidden in a valley (locally known as the Glen)

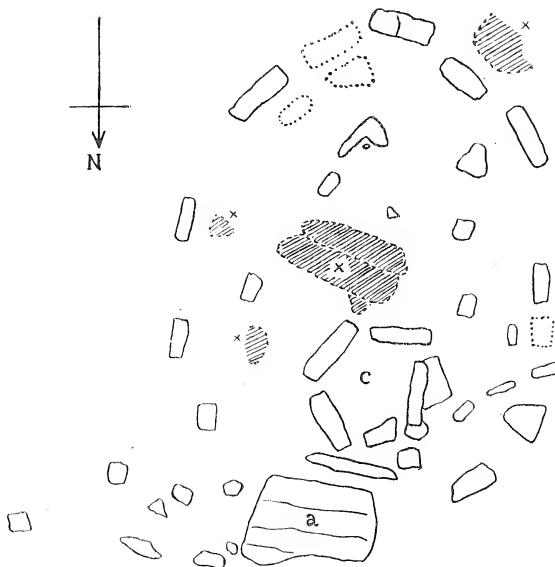


FIG. 1 : SKETCH PLAN OF A BURIAL SITE, SESKIN, CO. WATERFORD.
 a. CAPSTONE ? ; c. CAVITY ; x. PROBABLY BEDROCK ; DOTTED
 LINES INDICATE WHERE STONES ARE BURIED OR BROKEN.

leading down to Coolnamuck valley. It is said that this farm was a mass station in Penal times. The lane from the road to the

farm makes a sudden steep turn just above the farmyard and above the angle so formed is an interesting dolmen (Fig. 2).

On the south-east are three uprights, two being four feet and the eastern one five feet high. Opposite them on the bank of the lane are two other stones ; one, three feet long, has fallen outward and the other, six feet long, has fallen inward ; the capstone is

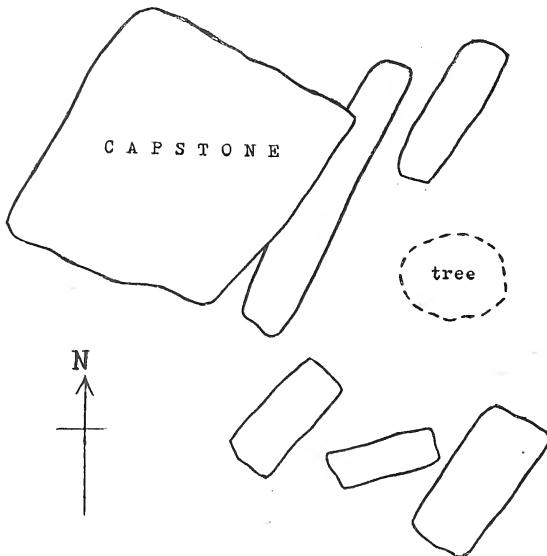


FIG. 2 : PLAN OF DOLMEN IN THE GLEN, SESKIN, CO. WATERFORD.

now resting on it, having apparently been displaced by a large birch tree which has grown up in the centre. The capstone is a fine slab of conglomerate, 6ft. by 7ft. by 2ft. The north eastern stone may have been displaced by the steepness of the bank on which it was perched. Close to the dolmen and in the wall which abuts on it is a stone six feet by two which may be the missing stone.

So far as I know neither of these two places has been described in print before. My father noticed the dolmen about forty years ago, but the other group was only noticed about three years ago, after the cutting of furze and heather which had hidden it.

ISABEL GRUBB.

Corrigendum

Journal, LXXIV (1944), p. 90, The Turoe Stone, line 4, for "Dene" read "Deece."

NOTICES OF BOOKS

Books marked thus * are by Members of the Society.

**The Tanner Letters*. Edited by CHARLES McNEILL. Pp. viii + 550. Dublin.
Stationery Office, 1943. £2 2s. 0d. (Irish Manuscripts Commission.)

WHILE the present volume does little more than confirm existing opinions, nevertheless the preparation and publication of such collections of letters and abstracts are essential to the scientific study and revision of Irish history. The Tanner manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, originally collected by Archbishop Sancroft, of non-juring fame, and donated to the library by Tanner, Bishop of St. Asaph (ob. 1735), contain much material of Irish interest, which Mr. McNeill skilfully edits.

Though the letters and papers range in date from the end of the sixteenth century to the opening years of the reign of William and Mary, the most significant and largest section is that dealing with the Confederate wars and their aftermath. The documents relating to the Confederate Catholics are of value in that they demonstrate afresh the lack of confidence between the various elements constituting the confederation. Some additional information too may be gleaned concerning the disintegration and dispersal abroad of the Irish forces following the death of Owen Roe O'Neill and the collapse of the Confederate organization.

The letters for the reigns of Charles II and James II are not of the same importance as those for the earlier period, but they are of some value in relation to ecclesiastical affairs in general and the competition for preferment in particular—in this latter respect they should be of particular interest to the local historian.

Though there is little to criticise in the presentation of the material, it would have been well worth the editor's while to have indicated more frequently the existence of other printed texts of the documents; thus, for example, though summaries of letters of Lord Clarendon are given, there is nothing to indicate that the full texts of these letters are available elsewhere in printed form (vide : *State Letters of Henry, Earl of Clarendon*). In this case such an indication would have lent greater precision and value to the work.

K. B. N.

Archivium Hibernicum. Vol. X. 1943.

"OBLIGATIONES pro annatis diocesis Laoniensis, 1421-1535" (pp. 1-103), edited by Dr. Denmot F. Gleeson, and "Obligationes pro annatis diocesis Limirensis, 1421-1519" (pp. 104-162), edited by V. Rev. M. Moloney, are both useful sources for genealogical material and for place-names in the century preceding the reformation. From the general historical point of view these records show clearly the influence of the native Irish in the dioceses of Killaloe and Limerick. "Documents of the Irish Colleges at Douai"

(pp. 163-210), edited by Rev. Brendan Jennings, O.F.M., contains a number of documents drawn from the royal archives in Brussels, which deal with the early days of the Irish College in Douai. More important still they give proof of the existence of two other, hitherto unknown Irish foundations in the town, one being conducted by the Irish Cistercians.

K. B. N.

Commentarius Rinuccinianus. Vol. V. pp. xiv + 504. (Irish Manuscripts Commission. £2 2s. 0d.)

THIS volume, dealing with the events of the years 1652-1666, completes the text of the monumental work of Fathers O'Ferrall and O'Connell on the Rinuccini mission. The affairs of the Irish bishops, the affairs of parliament, the imprisonment of priests, the flight of Irish chiefs, and a hundred-and-one interesting subjects of Church and State, are set out in great detail.

The subject of greatest importance was the dispute among bishops, clergy and people about the Nuncio's censures which caused grave dissension even to the end of the seventeenth century. It became almost a political question. The friends of Rinuccini insisted that his honour and his cause required that those who were guilty should be obliged to beg the Pope for absolution, whilst many of the Irish bishops sought a general absolution for all involved without further ado. The Brief of Alexander VII in 1655 gave authority to four Irish bishops to absolve from all censures those who would ask for that favour and perform a salutary penance. In 1669, however, Peter Talbot, Archbishop of Dublin, opposed the acknowledgement of the excommunication as he foresaw great harm to the Catholic clergy and people who would probably be made to sign a document to the effect that they had not applied to Rome. At last, in 1698, Pope Innocent XII issued a Brief to the bishops, clergy and faithful of Ireland granting the Apostolic Blessing to every Irishman in the world. And so the last was heard of the Rinuccini mission.

An Index volume containing an English summary of the five volumes will complete the series. Once again Fr. Stanislaus, O.F.M.Cap., is to be congratulated on his careful and scholarly editing of a colossal and most difficult work.

M. V. R.

Irish Historical Studies. Vol III, No. 11. March, 1943. 5/6 net.

The present issue opens with Part I of an article on "The Expansion of Irish Christianity to 1200," by Rev. Professor Felim O Briain, O.F.M. In a paper, "Transportation from Ireland to America, 1653-60," John W. Blake gives evidence to prove that the chief responsibility for abuses in Irish transportation rests on some of the less scrupulous English merchants. The strategic importance of Sligo is shown in a document, "Agreement between O Domhnaill and Tadhg O Conchobhair concerning Sligo Castle (23 June, 1539)," edited and translated by Mrs. Maura Carney. As in modern reviews Irish Historical Studies contains only a few articles but a great deal of information on new publications, research papers and reviews which give much information to the research worker.

Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society. Vol. XLVIII, No. 168. July-December, 1943.

"An Eighteenth Century Manuscript : Records of an Irish Friary, 1779-1803," by Liam O Conaill, gives an interesting account of the affairs of the Cork Franciscan Friars in the closing decades of the 18th century. "The Healys of Donoughmore," by John T. Collins is the history of an ancient and distinguished Irish family. The conditions prevailing in Kinsale during the first half of the 18th century are described in "The Buffs and Blues in Kinsale," by Seamus Breathnach. The sources of information for this paper are a pamphlet, "A Narrative of the Dispute in the Corporation of Kinsale (Dublin 1756)" and a manuscript in the Town Chest. Rev. P. Power in "Some letters of John O'Donovan," edits six from some thirty letters of O'Donovan still unedited. Other papers are "A Built in Oven near Cove, Co. Cork," by Seán P. Ó Riordáin, and "Maylor Street : The Maylors, Lawton and Carleton," by M. V. Conlon. Notes and Queries deal with : "A Waterford Ursuline Historical Writer," "An Altar-Stone from Carrigtwohill," "Old Letters" and "Thomas Francis Meagher's Reading in 1846."

Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society. Vol. XX, Nos. 3 & 4, 1943.

In "The Irish Pike," by Dr. G. A. Hayes McCoy, we are given an interesting account of this weapon. Dr. McCoy also gives a description of "A Sixteenth Century Irish Sword" which is in the Arms Collection in the National Museum. Professor Kathleen Mulchrone edits fragments of a third copy of the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick recently discovered in the Royal Irish Academy. "St. Raolinn of Teampall Raollean," by Very Rev. M. Connellan, P.P., answers the query, Who was St. Raelinn or Raolinn and what was the original name of his adopted home? Dr. Marguerite Hayes McCoy presents the second part of a Calendar of the Eyre Documents in University College, Galway. Informative reviews conclude this issue of the Galway Journal. C. S.

The Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland

List of Societies, etc., from whom publications are received.

- *Aarboer fér Novdsk Oldkynldighed og Historie, etc., Denmark.
- *Académie Royale d'Archéologie de Belgique.
- American Antiquarian Society.
- *Årsberettsle, Bulletin de La Société Royale des Lettres de Lund.
- Belfast Museum and Art Gallery (Quarterly Notes).
- Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society.
- Belfast Naturalists' Field Club.
- *Bihar and Orissa Research Society, India.
- Bollandistes, Société des.
- Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society.
- British Archaeological Association.
- *Bruxelles, Société Royale d'Archéologie.
- Cambrian Archaeological Association.
- Cambridge Antiquarian Society.
- Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire Archaeological Society.
- Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society.
- Chester and North Wales Archaeological and Historical Society.
- Cork Historical and Archaeological Society.
- *Cymrodrorion, Honourable Society of.
- Det Kongelige Norske Videnskabers Selskab, Trondhjem.
- Dorset Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club.
- Down and Connor Historical Society.
- Essex Archaeological Society.
- Folklore of Ireland Society.
- Galway Archaeological Society.
- Glasgow Archaeological Society.
- Henry Bradshaw Society.
- Irish Memorials Association.
- *Izglitiba Ministrīja, Piemineklu Valde, Rīgā.
- Kent Archaeological Society.
- Kildare Archaeological Society.
- *Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antiquitets Akademien, Stockholm.
- Lancashire and Cheshire, Historic Society of.
- Leningrad, State Academy for History of Material Culture.
- Louth Archaeological Society.
- *Norsk Folkemuseum Annual Report.
- Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia.
- Numismatic Society, London.
- *Paris, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres.
- Polskie Towarzystwo Prehistoryczne, Poznán.
- Prehistoric Society.
- Rhineland, Verein Von Altertumsfreunden.
- Royal Anthropological Institute.
- Royal Archaeological Institute of Gt. Britain and Ireland.
- Royal Historical Society.
- Royal Institute of British Architects.
- Royal Irish Academy.
- Shropshire Archaeological, etc., Society.
- Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France.
- Society of Antiquaries of London.
- Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
- Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.
- Society of Army Historical Research.
- Smithsonian Institution.
- Somersetshire Archaeological Society.
- Stockholm, Northern Museum.
- Suffolk Institute of Archaeology.
- Surrey Archaeological Society.
- Sussex Archaeological Society.
- Thomond Archaeological Society and Field Club.
- Thoresby Society.
- *Ukraine, Académie des Sciences.
- *Upplands Fornminnesförenings Tidskrift, etc., Uppsala.
- Warszawa, Institut de l'architecture Polonaise.
- Wiltshire Archaeological Society.
- Wisconsin State Historical Society.
- Yorkshire Archaeological Society.

* Exchange suspended.

The Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland

THIS Society, instituted to preserve, examine, and illustrate the Ancient Monuments of the History, Language, Arts, Manners and Customs of the past as connected with Ireland, was founded as the Kilkenny Archaeological Society in 1849. On 27th December, 1869, Queen Victoria was graciously pleased to order that it be called The Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland, and was further pleased to sanction the adoption of the title of THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF IRELAND on the 25th March, 1890. The Society was incorporated by Royal Charter in 1912.

General Meetings of the Society are held each year, in Dublin or elsewhere in Ireland, at which Papers on Historical and Archaeological subjects are read. Fellows and Members elected, objects of Antiquity exhibited, and excursions made to places of antiquarian interest. The Council meets monthly in Dublin. Honorary, Provincial and Local Secretaries are appointed, whose duty it is to inform the Secretary of discoveries of Antiquarian Remains in their districts, to investigate Local History and Traditions, and to give notice of all injury, likely to be inflicted on Monuments of Antiquity and Ancient Memorials of the Dead, in order that the influence of the Society may be exerted to preserve them.

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The following "Extra Volumes," which were supplied free to all Fellows on the roll at date of issue, may still be obtained:—

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1916—"The Gormanston Register." Edited by JAMES MILLS, I.S.O., M.R.I.A., and M. J. MCENERY, M.R.I.A. Cloth, 10s.
1923—"Advertisements for Ireland," being a description of Ireland in the reign of James I., contained in a manuscript in Trinity College, Dublin. Edited by GEO. O'BRIEN, LITT.D. Price 6s.
1926—"Carved Ornament from Irish Monuments." By H. S. CRAWFORD, M.R.I.A. Published by Subscription 15s.: to fellows 12s.
1930—"Court Book of the Liberty of St. Sepulchre." Edited by HERBERT WOOD, B.A., M.R.I.A., Fellow. Price 7s. 6d.; to members 5s.
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